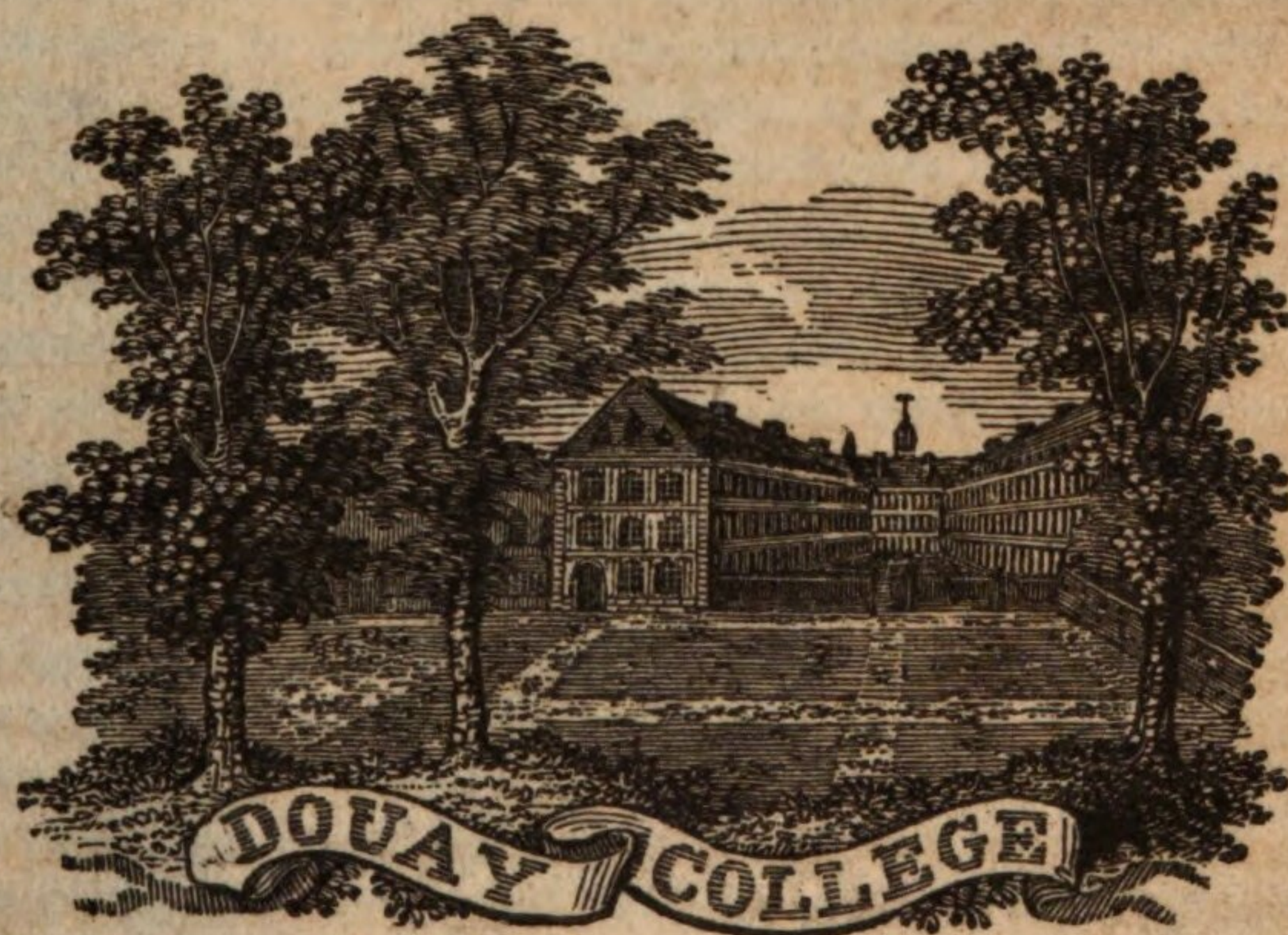


MEMOIRS
OF
MISSIONARY PRIESTS,
and other
Catholics of both Sexes,
that have
SUFFERED DEATH IN ENGLAND ON RELIGIOUS ACCOUNTS,
from
The year 1577 to 1684.

BY BISHOP CHALLONER, V. A. L.

VOL. II.

Carefully collected from the Accounts of Eye-witnesses, cotemporary Authors, and Manuscripts kept in the English Colleges & Convents abroad.



Manchester,

Printed by Branch & Jackson, Queen-street St. Ann's,
FOR T. HAYDOCK, 16, TIB-LANE.

Also sold by E. Booker, No. 56, New Bond-street, London.
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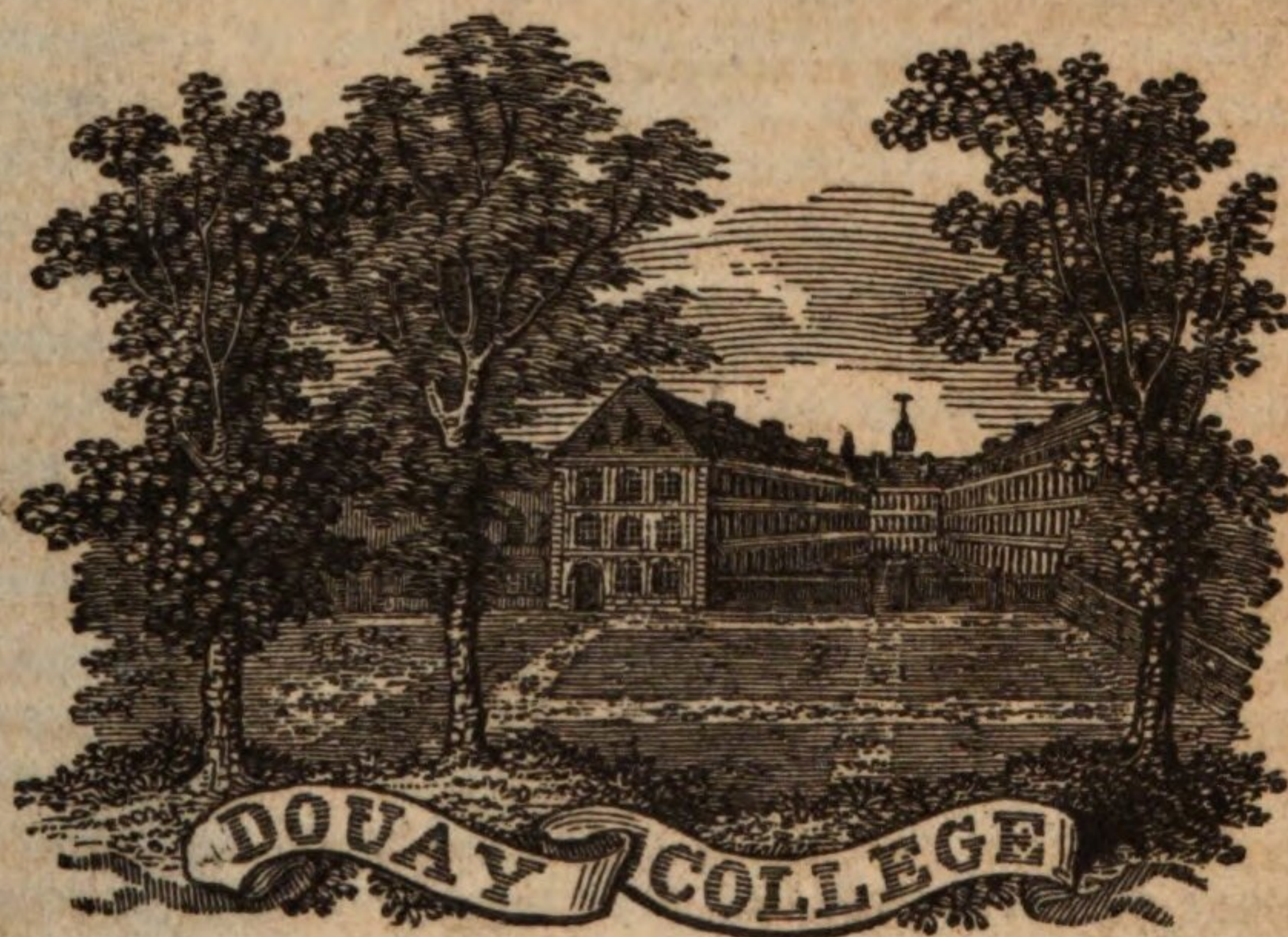
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1803.

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their lives

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Printed by E. Smith, 15, Old Bailey, London.
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1684.

PREFACE.

THE continuation of the executions of catholics on religious accounts, from the death of queen Elizabeth till the end of the reign of king Charles the second, is laid before the reader in this second volume of our memoirs, in which we have endeavoured to follow the same method as in the first. Our intention herein is not to meddle any way with religious controversies, or to make apologies for the principles of those whose sufferings we represent, or to discuss the merits of the cause for which they suffered; but barely to give an impartial account of the characters of these sufferers, as far as we could learn of them, the most remarkable particulars of their lives and deaths, and their behaviour at their execution.

If any one apprehend that the cruelties here represented, may reflect an odium upon the memories of those, who were the authors or executors of the sanguinary laws, by which so much christian blood has been shed for more than a whole century, in a nation which of all others is naturally most averse from shedding of blood; we can only assure him, that it was not our design to reflect on the memory of any one, but barely to represent matters of fact, which we hoped might furnish a useful and agreeable scene of history to the English reader. However, we must at the same time declare, how much we are convinced, that the more mild proceedings of the present government, with regard to catholics, are far more agreeable both to reason and religion, more honourable to the nation, and more suitable to that claim of liberty and property, which every true Englishman challenges as his birth-right.

In effect, is it not most agreeable to right reason, for a people that disclaims all pretensions to infallibility, to give a moderate liberty to the tender consciences of their fellow subjects, of thinking for themselves in matters of religion, without being constrained therein by penal laws? And can any thing be more highly unreasonable, than to impose upon them a necessity of conforming, in matters where their souls are concerned, to the judgment of others, acknowledged by themselves to be liable to error, and contrary in many points to their own judgment, and to that of the greatest and wisest men upon earth? Is not this even irreconcilable with the great principle of morality, of not doing to others what one would not bear should be done to oneself?

Again, is it not most agreeable to religion, to practise mildness and charity towards our fellow christians, and if we suppose them to be in an error, to win them over rather by good treatment and good example, and to convince their judgment by proper arguments and evidences of the truth, than to compel them by penal laws to play the hypocrites, and profess what they do not believe? And how much more ought this to be observed, if we speak of people, who, if they are in the wrong, it is visibly their misfortune and not their fault, having no worldly motives of honour, interest or pleasure, to bias their judgment, which is plainly the case of English catholics? And certainly nothing can be more disagreeable to the very first principles

PREFACE.

of protestant religion, which would have all christians to steer by the word of God, than to oblige men to renounce those tenets which they sincerely believe to be conformable to the word of God, as catholics do with regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, &c.

As to the honour of the English nation, our neighbours abroad certainly think better of us now, than when they were continually hearing of our putting priests to death, which in their notions was an unparalleled piece of cruelty.

And as to that liberty and property which is the birth-right of a Briton, nothing can be more opposite to it, than persecution for religion, which visibly tends to enslave the conscience, and to invade the life or property of an Englishman, merely because he has not the same way of thinking as his neighbours.

But the advocates of persecution will here object, that Roman catholics have been notoriously guilty of rebellions and treasons, under pretence of religion; and therefore must be kept under by penal laws. But supposing the guilt to have been even greater than it really was, are there not laws enough against rebellions and treasons, to restrain all sorts of people from such wicked attempts, without constraining their consciences in matters of religion? And is it not more than probable, that such things would never have been thought on by catholics, had they not been pushed upon them by the cruel usages they met with on account of their religion? But be this as it will, the law of God and nature teaches us, that the children ought not to suffer for the misdemeanors of their fathers.

But the persecutors will say, perhaps, that Roman catholic principles are inconsistent with civil allegiance to the sovereign, and with the tranquillity of the nation: to which the catholics reply, that their principles are misrepresented; and that their loyalty to their princes, and peaceful behaviour to their fellow subjects, may be demonstrated by the experience of so many princes and states abroad, as well protestants as catholics, where the professors of their religion are known to be as good subjects, in all respects, as any others of what denomination soever.

Some urge, as a third reason for persecuting Roman catholics, that it is a duty incumbent on all christian princes, not to tolerate an idolatrous worship in their dominions; and such they suppose the Roman religion to be. But the more moderate protestants are not willing to charge so gross a crime as that of idolatry on so many millions of christians, to whom they were indebted for their own christianity: and since the generality of protestants look upon it as a point of christian charity, to allow salvation to the catholics, why may they not tolerate, without a crime, what they grant is not inconsistent with salvation?

But we shall say no more on this subject, what has been said already being abundantly sufficient to vindicate the moderation of the present government from the unjust censures of some fiery zealots, who breathe nothing but slaughter and destruction against all who differ from themselves in religious controversies. And we doubt not, but the wisdom of the legislature, when they shall think proper to take these matters under consideration, will find many other weighty reasons, which will demonstrate that a toleration of the private exercise of the Roman

PREFACE.

catholic religion, will be more agreeable to the common good and tranquillity of the nation, and more advantageous to our trade, than penal laws and persecutions.

As to the rest, we look upon it our duty, before we conclude, to make a public acknowledgment of our obligations to those from whom we received the greatest part of our materials, out of which we have compiled our memoirs; particularly to the English colleges of Douay and St. Omers, and to the English Benedictins and Franciscans; and amongst the catholic gentry to C——t C——le, esq. who furnished us with divers useful books and manuscripts.

We think it also necessary, in consequence of the decrees of our superiors, to take notice that we do not pretend by these memoirs to authorize or encourage any religious veneration of these gentlemen who have suffered for their religion, till the church shall think proper to declare them martyrs; and that on the same account we speak sparingly of their miracles; and that if we ever employ, in treating of them, the name of saint or martyr, we understand it not in that sense in which it is attributed to such as have been canonized by the church; to whose wholesome ordinances we submit ourselves and all our writings.

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Memoirs

of

MISSIONARY PRIESTS,

&c.

As soon as queen Elizabeth was dead, James, the sixth of that name, king of Scotland, was proclaimed king of England: under whom the catholics hoped for better times. And in effect, not long after his accession to the throne, several recusants of the best rank were by order of his majesty sent for to Hampton-Court, and were there told (by his special direction to some of the lords of the council) that henceforth he was resolved to *exonerate the Catholics of England*, of the usual fine or payment of £20 a month for recusancy: which favour they should so long enjoy, as their behaviour towards the king and state was without contempt. And when the catholics humbly desired to know whether their recusancy would not be interpreted *contempt*? They were assured it would not; and were ordered to signify as much to all of that profession. See a small tract, called, *The Lay Catholics' Petition for Priests*, &c. Chap. I.

As to the priests also, many of them, who were in confinement, experienced his majesty's clemency, by being allowed to *sue forth their pardons*, paying a small fine to the then lord chancellor. So that when the king, soon after his arrival into England, was told of one Mr. Freeman, put to death at Warwick, for taking orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute; he said to those about him, with some surprize; *Alas! poor man, had he not four nobles to purchase his pardon?* Some people looked upon this as a jest upon a certain great minister of state: but it was no jesting matter for the priest, who was hanged, drawn, and quartered according to sentence. See *Protestants' Plea for Priests and Papists*, p. 54. Of this Mr. Freeman I have found no farther particulars, nor any mention of him in any of our catalogues; unless he be the same as Mr. John Sugar, priest, who suffered at Warwick, July 16, 1604, as we shall see hereafter.

But it was not long before the catholics were made sensible, that however the persecution might in some measure be abated, it was not

to cease. For upon the 22d of February, 1603-4, the king 'sent forth a proclamation, strictly commanding all priests to depart the realm before the 19th of March, upon pain of having the laws executed against them without the least favour or mercy: and at the same time giving orders, to the deputy lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, to be vigilant in their several posts, and to use great diligence for the discovering and apprehending of all such as, contrary to the aforesaid proclamation, should presume to remain in the kingdom, after the said 19th of March. And as to those priests who at that time were already in prison, his majesty in the same proclamation signifies, that he hath given orders for their being shipped off at some convenient port, and for ever banished the kingdom.' See Howe's Chronicle, p. 834.

Accordingly, in the month of September, we find twenty-one priests and three laymen taken out of divers prisons, by a warrant from the lords of the council, and put on board a ship to be transported into perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding that many of them had his majesty's pardon to shew; since which they had not been convicted of any new offence punishable by the laws of the land with perpetual banishment; (as they tell the lords of the council, in their letter from the sea-side, dated Sept. 24, 1604.) And not a few of them had voluntarily delivered themselves up pursuant to a proclamation set forth by the late queen, not long before her death, giving assurance of pardon to all such priests as should deliver themselves up to the civil magistrate, and at the same time give proofs of their allegiance to her majesty; both which conditions these men had punctually fulfilled: and therefore they thought themselves now hardly used, as they signified in the aforesaid letter, a copy of which I have now by me, in the manuscript collections relating to *the sufferings of the English catholics, by the Rev. Mr. Knaresborough*; whose labours have been of no small service to me, especially with regard to this and the following reign.

But the severities exercised against catholics did not stop here; for all the sanguinary laws enacted by queen Elizabeth were from time to time put in execution by this king, during the greatest part at least of his reign; as we shall see anon. The first, whose name occurs in our catalogues, who suffered death upon the penal statutes, was,

135. * *John Sugar, Priest.*—1606.

JOHN Sugar was born at Womborn, in Staffordshire, of a noted family in those parts. He made a good proficiency in his grammar studies at home in his own country; and then was sent to Oxford, to Merton College, where he went through his course of philosophy.

* From Arnoldus Raissius in his catalogue of the Douay martyrs, printed in 1630. And from an old manuscript relation of his martyrdom, sent me from Warwickshire.

And now he was upon the point of receiving his degree of batchelor of arts : but there was an oath first to be taken of the Queen's supremacy, which he boggled at ; and upon this quitted the university. Yet I do not find that he embraced forthwith the catholic religion ; on the contrary, we are told, that for some time after he exercised the office of a minister at Cank, in his own country, and there held forth against the pope, and the catholic faith : but the Father of mercies did not suffer him to continue long in this way ; but by his heavenly light opened the eyes of his soul to see the beauty of truth ; and inflamed his heart with the love of it. Insomuch that he became a true convert, and a hearty penitent ; and, forsaking all his worldly hopes, went abroad to Douay, to the English college ; where, after two years spent in the study of divinity, he was made priest, and was sent upon the English mission, in 1601, to labour there in seeking after the lost sheep.

After his coming into England, says my old manuscript, he travelled afoot very much in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, to serve, help, and comfort the meaner and poorer sort of catholics, with the sacraments of the holy catholic church. He was in his life chaste and innocent ; in conversation humble and mild ; in helping the poor and distressed pitiful and charitable ; in his diet very spare and temperate ; and in prayer fervent and continual.

In the first year of the reign of king James in England, Mr. Burgoyne, a justice in the county of Warwick, on the 8th day of July, being Relick-Sunday, sent a warrant to search the house of a catholic, dwelling in Romington, for the apprehension of a seminary priest : and the searchers finding none there, went to search in the same town the house of Robert, Henry, and Ambrose Grissold " or Greswold," three unmarried brethren, catholics, for many years living and keeping house together : and in searching thereof, a constable called Richard Smith, and one Clement Grissold, nephew to the three aforesaid brethren, apprehended on the highway Mr. Sugar for a seminary priest, as he was going with a catholic serving-man, nephew to the aforesaid three brethren, and cousin to the said Clement : who with the constable and one John Williams, brought both him and Mr. Sugar to Mr. Burgoyne the justice, who examined them and sent them to prison at Warwick : where they lay together a whole year, and suffered imprisonment.

And at the assizes holden at Warwick, the 13th and 14th of July, in the second year of king James's reign in England, Mr. Sugar was arraigned, and by judge Kingsmill condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for being a seminary priest. In the morning when he was to suffer death, he said to his friends that came to visit him, *Be ye all merry ; for we have not occasion of sorrow, but of joy ; for although I shall have a sharp dinner, yet I trust in Jesus Christ I shall have a most sweet supper.* He also desired God to forgive the judge, and all his apprehenders and persecutors. As he was drawn on the hurdle to the place of his martyrdom, he gave money to fifty poor folks, and prayed very devoutly. An English

‘ minister at the gallows asked him, How he did believe? His answer
 ‘ was, I believe as my mother the catholic church doth. Then he
 ‘ demanded of the minister, Who it was that first converted our
 ‘ country, when it was called Britain, to the catholic religion? To
 ‘ whom the minister answered, I never heard this question asked
 ‘ before: but who converted it say you? Mr. Sugar told him, that it
 ‘ was the successor of St. Peter the apostle, viz. pope Eleutherius,
 ‘ who sent Damianus and Fugatius, two learned and godly men, by
 ‘ whom Lucius, King of Britain, and his people received the true
 ‘ christian catholic faith and religion. But this new religion, said he,
 ‘ crept into this country in the time of king Henry the VIII.

‘ After this he was a good while on his knees, and prayed; and
 ‘ that being done he was stript to his shirt, and going up the ladder,
 ‘ he said, *I thank God, I can climb pretty well to day.* As he stood
 ‘ upon the ladder he very chearfully said to the people: Be it known
 ‘ unto you, good people, that I come hither to die for my conscience.
 ‘ The under-sheriff answered, Thou diest not for thy conscience, but
 ‘ for treason. To which he replied, You do me wrong; there is none
 ‘ can touch me for treason; it is for conscience I die. Then a boy of
 ‘ about eighteen years of age put the rope about his neck. The
 ‘ martyr blessed the rope with the sign of the cross, saying, *I came*
 ‘ *into the world with the sign of the cross; and with the sign of the cross,*
 ‘ *I go out of it again.* How dost thou prove that? said the under-
 ‘ sheriff; for thou wast not born with the sign of the cross. I make
 ‘ account, said Mr. Sugar, that I was not in this world as a chris-
 ‘ tian, till I was signed with the sign of the cross in baptism;
 ‘ for then I first received my spiritual birth. Afterwards the
 ‘ under-sheriff willed him to pray for the king. To whom he said, I
 ‘ never denied to pray for him; and thereupon he prayed thus: God
 ‘ bless the king, the queen, the young prince, and all the council:
 ‘ God forgive the judge, the justice Mr. Burgoyne, and all that did
 ‘ apprehend me; and you too (looking on the sheriff) as I would that
 ‘ God should forgive me. Then the hangman said, I pray you good
 ‘ father, forgive me too. I forgive thee, boy, with all my heart, said
 ‘ he: then looking on the people with a chearful countenance, he
 ‘ said to them: Good people, I die willingly; for I shall get a place
 ‘ of joy: and I beseech Jesus to receive my soul: and I beseech
 ‘ all the company of angels, martyrs, and saints to accompany my
 ‘ soul to that blessed place. *I desire to be dissolved, and to be with*
 ‘ *Christ:* and I beseech God, that all that are here present may be
 ‘ partakers of that joy to which I am going. Then he desired our
 ‘ blessed Saviour to receive his soul, saying, *Jesus, Jesus, receive my*
 ‘ *soul;* unto which the people answered, *Amen, Amen.* Lastly, being
 ‘ asked if he was ready, viz. to die; he said, *I am ready in Jesus.*
 ‘ Thereupon he was turned off the ladder, and was cut down before
 ‘ he was fully dead; then was opened; his bowels were burnt; his
 ‘ head was cut off; his body was quartered; and his quarters were
 ‘ set upon the gates of Warwick. Thus he having willing, chearfully,
 ‘ and constantly suffered death for his priestly function, and for the

‘ profession of the catholic religion of Christ, hath thereby obtained a
 ‘ crown of eternal glory in heaven : for our Lord saith, Apoc. ii. *Be*
 ‘ *thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.*’—*He*
suffered July 16th. 1604.

136. * *Robert Grissold or Greswold, Layman.*

‘ **R**OBERT Grissold, who was born at Romington, in Warwickshire,
 ‘ and was servant to Mr. Sheldon, of Broadway, in Worcestershire,
 ‘ was, says my manuscript, simple and upright in his actions; un-
 ‘ learned, but enlightened with the holy ghost, feared God, hated sin,
 ‘ led a single life and chaste; was kind to his friends, mild in conver-
 ‘ sation, devout in prayer, bold and constant in professing the catholic
 ‘ religion, and heartily loved and revered catholic priests. When
 ‘ his cousin Clement Grissold apprehended him going upon the way
 ‘ with Mr. Sugar, he said to him, Cousin, if you will go your way,
 ‘ you may : I will not, answered he, except I may have my friend
 ‘ with me. Then the constable, Richard Smith, or his cousin said ;
 ‘ That you shall not, for he is a stranger, and I will carry him before
 ‘ Mr. Burgoyne : then, said he, I will go with him to Mr. Burgoyne ;
 ‘ for he knoweth me very well ; and I hope he will do my friend no
 ‘ wrong, when he heareth me speak. Thereupon he went with Mr.
 ‘ Sugar (who was then called Mr. Cox) to the justice Mr. Burgoyne,
 ‘ who after examination sent them both to the prison of Warwick.
 ‘ Where Robert Grissold had occasion offered him to get away, yet
 ‘ for the love of Mr. Sugar, and zeal for martyrdom, he would not ;
 ‘ but there with Mr. Sugar remained a whole year, and with him
 ‘ suffered imprisonment, and afterwards death.

‘ In the second year of king James in England, and upon the 14th
 ‘ day of July, at the assizes holden at Warwick, he being arraigned,
 ‘ was asked by the judge Kingsmill, If he would go to church? To
 ‘ whom he answered, I will not, my lord. Then thou shalt be
 ‘ hanged, quoth the judge. I beseech you, my lord, let me have
 ‘ justice, and let the country know wherefore I die. Thou shalt have
 ‘ justice, I warrant thee, said the judge, and the country shall know
 ‘ that thou diest for felony. Wherein, quoth he, have I committed
 ‘ felony? Thou hast committed felony, saith the judge, in being in
 ‘ the company, in assisting and relieving a seminary priest, that is,
 ‘ a traitor. I have not therein committed felony, answered he. Then
 ‘ a justice of peace said to him, Grissold, Grissold, go to church,
 ‘ or else, God judge me, thou shalt be hanged. Then God’s will be done,
 ‘ quoth he. After that the judge asked him again, If he would go to
 ‘ church? I have answered you, my lord, enough for that matter, I
 ‘ will not. Then thou shalt be hanged, said the judge. I crave no
 ‘ favour of you, my lord, in this action, answered he. What, said
 ‘ the judge in a great rage, dost thou crave no favour at my hands?

* From an ancient manuscript relation of his martyrdom, of which I have a
 copy sent me out of Warwickshire.

‘ No, my lord, said he, I crave no favour at your hands in this
 ‘ action. Thereupon the judge afterwards condemned him to be hang-
 ‘ ed for accompanying, assisting, and relieving a seminary priest :
 ‘ and while he pronounced judgment against him he faltered in his
 ‘ speech, and trembled with his hands. The next day after the
 ‘ judge had condemned him, he sent to him in his chamber, where
 ‘ he profered him life, if he would promise him to go to church ; which
 ‘ he utterly refused.

‘ In the morning before he suffered death, he continued an hour in
 ‘ prayer, and requested of all the catholics to say a *Pater* and *Ave*
 ‘ for him, in the honour of God and of St. Catharine his patroness,
 ‘ that by the intercession of that blessed virgin and martyr he might
 ‘ obtain of God courage and fortitude to suffer death. And seeing a
 ‘ catholic woman in the prison weeping for his death, he said to her ;
 ‘ *Good woman, why do you weep ? Here is no place of weeping, but of*
 ‘ *rejoicing ; for you must come into the bridegroom’s chamber, not with*
 ‘ *tears, but with rejoicing.* The woman answered, I hoped you should
 ‘ have had your life. I do not want it now, said he, for I should be
 ‘ loath to lose this opportunity offered me to die : but yet God’s will
 ‘ be done. Then a catholic maid said, *It is well said, friend Robert,*
 ‘ *for it is nothing to suffer death for so good a cause.* Whereupon he
 ‘ said to the catholics there present, *Look that ye all continue to the*
 ‘ *end.*

‘ As he was going on foot to the gallows, one willed him to go a
 ‘ fair way, and not to follow through the mire Mr. Sugar, who was
 ‘ drawn on the sledge before him : to whom he made answer ; *I have*
 ‘ *not thus far followed him to leave him now for a little mire.* And so
 ‘ through the mire he went after him. When he came to the place
 ‘ of his martyrdom, for a good while he prayed very devoutly on his
 ‘ knees ; and although he was by nature so timorous and weak, that
 ‘ he once swooned at the sight of his thumb being only pricked with
 ‘ an awl, yet at the gallows he was by the grace of the holy ghost
 ‘ so much strengthened, that at the sight of Mr. Sugar’s bleeding body,
 ‘ when quartered, he was no way terrified ; but (on the contrary) was
 ‘ so stout and couragious, that when a catholic woman stept between
 ‘ him and Mr. Sugar’s dead body, whilst it was in quartering, lest the
 ‘ sight should terrify him, he took her by the arm, saying, *Stand away,*
 ‘ *for I thank God the sight doth nothing terrify me.*

‘ Afterwards the under-sheriff said to him, Grissold, thou dost
 ‘ thyself wrong ; for thou art guilty of thy own death. No, quoth
 ‘ he, *sir, you do me wrong, in keeping me so long alive after Mr. Sugar,*
 ‘ *for I should have suffered with him ; and I only desire to be with him.*
 ‘ Then seeing the halter, with which he was to be hanged, lying on
 ‘ the ground, he was exceeding glad, and giving God thanks, he
 ‘ went and dipped it in Mr. Sugar’s blood : and going up the ladder
 ‘ he said to the people, *Bear witness, good people, that I die here not*
 ‘ *for theft, nor for felony ; but for my conscience.* Then he freely for-
 ‘ gave all his persecutors, and the hangman ; and devoutly said his
 ‘ *Confiteor*, often calling upon the name of Jesus. Lastly, he com-

* mended his soul into the hands of Almighty God; and so being turned off the ladder, he hanged until he was quite dead. His dead body, by the under-sheriff's permission, was buried near the gallows. And thus this blessed martyr for the short transitory pain of death, which he willingly suffered for a work of charity, and for the professing the catholic religion, hath gotten everlasting joy in the kingdom of heaven.' So far the author of the manuscript relation of his death, who seems to have been an eye-witness of his and Mr. Sugar's sufferings, or at least to have had his informations from eye-witnesses.—*He suffered July 16, 1604.*

137. * *Laurence Baily, Layman.*

LAURENCE Baily was a catholic layman, who was apprehended in Lancashire, for having been aiding and assisting to a priest, who had fallen into the hands of the pursuivants, and had made his escape from them. For this supposed offence he was cast into prison, where (as we are told by Molanus, in his catalogue, p. 77.) he suffered much with great patience and constancy; and being brought upon his trial, was condemned to die as in cases of felony, by the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. He was executed at Lancaster, Dr. Worthington says sometime in August; but Molanus says it was on the 16th of September, 1604.

138. † *Thomas Welbourn.*—139. *John Fulthering.*—
140. *William Brown, Laymen.*—1605.

THOMAS Welbourn was a schoolmaster, a native of Kitenbushel, in Yorkshire; and John Fulthering was a layman of the same county, who being zealous catholics, and industrious in exhorting some of their neighbours to embrace the catholic faith, were upon that account arraigned and condemned to suffer as in cases of high treason: as was also William Brown, another zealous catholic layman, a native of Northamptonshire, convicted of the same offence. They all were executed according to sentence; Mr. Welbourn and Mr. Fulthering at York, the first of August, 1605; Mr. Brown at Rippon, the fifth of September, the same year.

This year on the 5th of November was discovered that horrid plot, commonly called gunpowder treason; by which Catesby and some few others his accomplices designed to have blown up the parliament house; which, though it were indeed a most wicked and detestable enterprise (for which the conspirators were justly punished) is most unjustly urged against catholics in general. For why should the

* From Dr. Worthington's catalogue of martyrs, published in 1614, p. 46.

† From the catalogues of English martyrs.

wickedness of a handful of men, whose doings were both then, and ever since, abhorred by the whole body of catholics, both at home and abroad, be laid to the charge of such as had no more hand in the guilt, than the apostles had in the treason of Judas?

'Tis more than probable that this was originally a ministerial plot, set on foot by Cecil then secretary of state. 'Some have been of opinion, says the author of the *Political Grammar*, lately published, p. 46, that the gunpowder plot in the reign of James the First was of the same alloy (a ministerial plot,) and the aukward manner in which the letter was sent to lord Mounteagle, the night before the execution, seems to confirm it, but much more the papers of the then minister, which have but lately appeared, by which the whole affair is brought to light. For it is evident by those papers that the minister was acquainted with the conspirators journal from the beginning; so that he might have easily stifled the design in its infancy; but that would not quadrate with his principal design, which was to divert king James from making any approaches towards popery,) to which he seemed to be inclinable in the minister's opinion) by engaging some papists in a desperate and horrid plot to destroy both king and parliament. This was the original of that affair, which has filled the kingdom with astonishment for above a whole century.' So far this author, who is not the only one, nor the first by a great many, who has been of this opinion, since Mr. Osborn has informed the world long ago, p. 34, that this plot was, as he terms it, a neat device of the secretary; and king James the first himself was so sensible of it, that he used to call the 5th of November, Cecil's holiday.

1606.—This year no less than 47 priests were from different prisons sent into perpetual banishment: their names are recorded in the Douay diary, as follows:

Thomas Bramston	* Thomas Flint	* John Copley
Philip Woodward	* Humfrey Meridale	* Fulk Nevile
Abraham Sutton	* William Clarjenet	* John Siclemore
William Singleton	* Thomas Hodson	* George Gervase
Sylvester Norrice, DD.	* Thomas Thoresby	* Thomas Garnet
Richard Grisold	* William Arton	* James Blundel
Thomas Burscough	* Christopher Lassels	* Thomas Laithwait
Nicholas Jeas	* Charles Newport	* Thomas Stanney
Ralph Buckland	* Richard Newport	* Robert Bradshaw
George Stransham	* John Lloyd	* Thomas Green
Francis Stafferton	* Robert Bastard	* Thomas Butler
Francis Forster	* Edward Dawson	* Edward Collier
Anthony Rouse	* Robert Walsh, Hibern	* N. Pierson
John Roberts	* John Hall	* Andrew White
Henry Chaterton	* Hugh Whitall	* N. Nightingal.
Simon Potinger	* John Starkey	*

And with them were banished two others not yet priests, viz. William Alabaster and Hugh Bowens. The same diary takes notice, Dec. 23, that Thomas Bramston, the first named in this catalogue,

died at Douay college, aged 66, after having been twenty years a prisoner in Wisbich castle for his faith, and twice banished.

141. *Henry Garnet* — and 142. *Edward Oldcorne, Priests, s. J.*

THIS year also, two priests of the society of Jesus were executed, accused of being conscious of the powder plot: viz. Henry Garnet superior of the English jesuits, and Edward Oldcorne. The former suffered in St. Paul's church yard, May 3, 1606: and, whatever some protestant writers have pretended to the contrary, both living and dying ever maintained that he had no knowledge of that treasonable design, but through the channel of confession, which the catholic religion prohibits to discover. The latter suffered at Worcester, April the 7th. His accuser, and the only witness that appeared against him, was Mr. Humfrey Littleton, one of the conspirators, hoping to save his own life by accusing a jesuit. But this same man being brought to the gallows for that crime, solemnly called God to witness, in the presence of thousands, that what he swore against father Oldcorne was utterly false, and in hopes only of saving his own life, by wrongfully accusing him; for which he begged God's and his pardon. But of these fathers we propose to treat more at large, after we have received proper materials, in an appendix to this work.

143. * *Robert Drury, Priest.*—1607.

ROBERT Drury was born of a gentleman's family in Buckinghamshire. He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college then residing at Rhemes, where he went through his course of philosophy; and partly at Valladolid in Spain, to which place he was sent from Rhemes with several others in 1590, to the college lately founded in that city, by king Philip of Spain, for the education of the English clergy. Here he finished his studies, and was made priest; and from hence he was sent upon the English mission, in the year 1593. His missionary labours seem to have been chiefly in and about London, where his learning and virtue made him considered amongst his brethren.

In the year 1601, queen Elizabeth set forth a proclamation, November 7, in which she was pleased to promise some favour to such of the clergy, as should give sufficient assurance of their allegiance to her, as their lawful queen. Upon this, some of the leading men amongst them (one of whom was Mr. Drury) met, and drew up a declaration, or profession of their allegiance, wherein they declared, 1st. That they acknowledged queen Elizabeth for their true and lawful sovereign, with as full power and authority as any of her predecessors. 2dly. That they were most willing to obey her at all times, and in all cases, as far as any christian priests, either in this or any other chris-

* From the Douay diary. The bishop of Chalcedon's catalogue, &c.
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tian kingdom, are bound by the divine law and the christian religion to obey their temporal prince; to be obedient also to her laws and magistrates, in all civil causes; and to pray to God to give her a happy and quiet reign, and after this life eternal bliss. 3dly. They declared their abhorrence of all plots and conspiracies against the queen and state; and their readiness to defend, and to persuade all catholics, as much as in them lay, to defend her majesty's person, state, kingdom and dominions, against all invasions, or hostile attempts, made by whomsoever, or upon what pretext soever, notwithstanding any excommunication denounced, or to be denounced against her majesty, &c. They declared nevertheless, that they acknowledged and confessed the bishop of Rome to be the successor to St. Peter, with no less ample authority and spiritual jurisdiction over all christians than that apostle had; and that they would be obedient to his holiness in all things, as far as they were bound by the divine law; which they doubted not might rightly stand with that allegiance which they had professed to their temporal princess: for as they were most ready to pour forth their blood for the defence of her majesty and their country; so were they resolved to part with their lives rather than violate the lawful authority of the catholic church of Christ. This declaration was given up to the lords of the council, by direction, signed by thirteen of the most eminent men of the secular clergy, viz. William Bishop, Dr. of Sorbon, afterwards bishop of Chalcedon; John Colleton, John Mush, Robert Charnock, John Bosville, Anthony Hebburn, Roger Cadwallador, Robert Drury, Anthony Champney, Dr. of Sorbon, John Jackson, Francis Barnaby, Oswald Needham, and Richard Button. This declaration is said to have given satisfaction to the queen and her council; though I don't find that it put a stop to the persecution, unless perhaps with regard to the subscribers in particular, none of whom were any farther prosecuted, during the remainder of that reign. But what was judged satisfactory in point of allegiance by queen Elizabeth and her council, was not, it seems, deemed so in the following reign of king James the first. For now a new *oath of allegiance* was imposed upon catholics, by which they were to abjure and detest as *damnable* and *heretical*, a doctrine relating to the pope's power; which neither the word of God, nor the church of God had condemned for such. This oath, which is said to have been contrived by Sir Christopher Perkins, a fallen jesuit, and worded on purpose in such a manner that the catholics might be divided in their opinions about the lawfulness of it; was taken by some of the missionaries, but refused by the far greater number, and prohibited by two several breves addressed by pope Paul the fifth to the catholics of England.

About the time of the imposing of this new oath, Mr. Drury fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was brought to his trial for being a priest, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. For this supposed treason (for no other was objected to him) he was condemned to die. 'Tis true he might have saved his life, if he would have complied with the new oath; but he chose rather to die, than to act against his conscience: not that he suffered

death for refusing the oath, or that this refusal was by the laws punishable with death; but that being upon another account, viz. for his priesthood, sentenced to die, he had his life offered him, if he would have taken that oath; which was the case also of several other priests, who suffered during this reign, who refused to save their lives by taking an oath which they judged to contain a falsehood.—Mr. Drury suffered with great constancy at Tyburn, Feb. 26, 1606-7, *Anno Ætatis* 39. *Missionis* 14.

144. * *Matthew (alias Major) Flathers, Priest.*—1608.

MR. Flathers was born at Weston, in Yorkshire, and educated in the English college or seminary of Douay. I find by the records of the college, that he was presented to the holy order of priesthood, and ordained at Arras, March 25, 1606, and that he was sent with proper faculties upon the English mission, in the company of Mr. Thomas Somers, on the last day of June of the same year. It seems he fell very soon into the hands of the adversaries of his faith and character; for I have seen his name in a catalogue of priests banished this same year 1606. However he quickly returned to the work of his Lord; and after labouring some time in Yorkshire his native country, he was again apprehended, and prosecuted at York for his priestly character. For this, and for his functions only, (no other treason being so much as objected to him) he was condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered. He refused to save his life by taking the new oath of allegiance, as it was called; and being drawn to the common place of execution, without Mickel Bar, (a gate of York so called) he was butchered in a most barbarous manner:† for he was no sooner turned off the ladder, but immediately cut down; and rising upon his feet, attempted to walk, as one half stunned; but one of the sheriff's men quickly stopt his journey, by giving him a desperate cut on the head with his halberd; another violently flung him down, and held him fast whilst the executioner ripped up his breast, pulled out his heart, and so completed the butchery.—He suffered at York, March 21, 1607-8.

145. ‡ *George Gervase, Priest, O. S. B.*

GEORGE Gervase, or Jarvis, was born at Boseham, in Sussex. His father was a gentleman of a noted family in that country; his mother was of the ancient family of the Shelleys. He was left an orphan, when he was twelve years of age, and not long after was kidnapped

* From the Douay diary, and the printed catalogues of Dr. Worthington, p. 48, and Arnoldus Raissius, p. 70.

† Statim abscisso fune in terram dejectus, ipse in pedes se erexit, & ambulare attentabat: at ex lictoribus unus telo ei capitis partem abscidit; alter eum vi magna in terram prostravit, & retinuit, dum carnifex ventrem secaret & erueret. T. W. in catalogo. p. 48. Raissius, p. 71.

‡ From the Douay diary, T. W. in his catalogue, p. 45, and Raissius, p. 94.

by a pirate, and carried away to the Indies, with two others of his brethren; where he continued for about twelve years, and quite lost his religion; at length he found means to return into England. His eldest brother Henry, a catholic, was at this time abroad in Flanders, probably for the security of his conscience; and that he might there enjoy the free exercise of his religion. Mr. George soon after his return, went over to make him a visit, and by his religious example, and the conversation of a learned catholic divine, was reconciled to the catholic faith, and soon after became a student in the English seminary at Douay.

Here he employed about 8 years in the study of virtue and learning; and being judged by his superiors duly qualified for the sacred functions, he was presented to holy orders, and passing through the usual degrees, was ordained priest in 1603, and was sent upon the English mission August 26, 1604. Here he laboured with great benefit to the souls of his neighbours, for about two years; and then being apprehended, was with many other priests sent from prison into banishment, in June 1606. In his banishment he called at Douay; and after a short refreshment there, he made a journey of devotion to Rome, to visit the tombs of the apostles. He petitioned, whilst he was at Rome, to be admitted amongst the jesuits. But this not succeeding, he returned to Douay, and there staid some months at his mother college. His brother designed to have kept him in Flanders; and had provided for him a comfortable subsistence in the city of Lisle, where he might live remote from the dangers that visibly threatened him, if he ventured to return to England: but as Mr. Gervase was under an engagement to serve the mission, and his heart and affections were there, he was not to be kept from it, either by the importunity of his friends, or the fear of dangers.

So to England he returned, and landed safe there; but was soon after apprehended and committed to prison. Here the new oath of allegiance was tendered to him, which he refused. After a few weeks he was brought upon his trial, and was condemned to be hanged, bowelled and quartered, barely on account of his being a priest, and having exercised his priestly functions in England; which sentence was accordingly executed upon him at Tyburn, April 11, 1608; where he suffered with the faith, devotion and courage of the primitive martyrs. At the place of execution he prayed in secret to himself, upon which some that were there desired him to pray aloud, that the people might join in prayer with him: to whom he is said to have made answer, *I want not the prayers of hereticks; but if there be any catholics here, I earnestly beg that they would pray to God for me.* He suffered in the 37th year of his age; and is said a little before his death to have privately received the habit of saint Bennet, at the hands of father Augustin Bradshaw.

Mr. Gervase's execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow in his chronicle, and by Mr. Salmon in his history, who calls him Sir George Jarvis.

146. * *Thomas Garnet, Priest, S. J.*

THOMAS Garnet, was son of Richard Garnet, a constant professor and great sufferer for the catholic faith, and nephew or near kinsman to father Henry Garnet, who suffered in St. Paul's church-yard, May 3, 1606. After a pious education at home under the care of his father, who from his very birth had vowed and dedicated him to God and his church, he was sent abroad when he was 16 or 17 years of age, to the seminary just then erected at St. Omer's, under the care of the fathers of the society of Jesus; and having there finished his humanity, he passed in the year 1595 into Spain to the English college of Valladolid, where he learned philosophy and divinity, and was made priest. He was sent upon the mission in the company of Mr. Mark Barkworth, of whose glorious exit we have treated in the first part of these memoirs, and laboured with zeal in the vineyard of his Lord, for about six years, being remarkably industrious in endeavouring to bring the souls that were under his care to a thorough sense of solid piety, and to ground them strongly in virtue.

Having been a long time desirous of entering into the society of Jesus he was admitted by father Henry Garnet his kinsman, then superior of the English jesuits: but before he could go beyond the seas to make his noviceship, he was apprehended and committed prisoner to the Gatehouse, and from thence was translated to the Tower. His being a kinsman of father Garnet, and having received a letter from him, was the occasion of his being strictly examined by secretary Cecil, (not without severe threats of the rack) concerning the gunpowder-plot, then lately discovered; but as they could not find any manner of grounds, for a suspicion of his being any way conscious of that execrable conspiracy, these threats proceeded no farther than the keeping him for eight or nine months in a close confinement, where with lying on the bare ground, and that in the severest season of the winter, he contracted rheumatick pains, and a kind of a sciatica, which stuck by him for the remainder of his life.

From prison he was, with many other priests, sent into banishment in 1606; and then repaired to Louvain, where at that time the English jesuits had lately procured an establishment for a novitiate. Here he remained some months, giving great edification to his fellow novices, and then was sent back upon the mission; where being betrayed by one Rouse an apostate priest, he fell again into the hands of the pursuivants. At this second apprehension he was brought before Thomas Ravis bishop of London; by whom, and by Sir William Wade he was several times examined. In his examination he neither owned nor denied himself to be a priest, but refused to take the new oath; adding, that he was of opinion if any catholics had taken it, they did it out of fear, which he hoped would never prevail with him to act any thing against his conscience.

* From father Bartoli's history of the English jesuits, l. vi. chap. xiv. and father More's history of the English province, l. viii. n. 8.

He was committed to Newgate, and not long after brought upon his trial at the Old Bailey, upon an indictment of high treason, for having been made priest by authority derived from Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. Three witnesses appeared against him, who deposed that whilst he was prisoner in the tower, he had written in several places, Thomas Garnet, priest: upon this slender evidence, he was found guilty by his jury, and received the sentence of death with great joy; apprehending nothing so much as, lest by the interest of friends, or by any other means, he should be deprived of that crown, which he had now so near a prospect of, as he often professed with tears to those who had access to him. And when some suggested to him how he might have an opportunity of making his escape, he would not make use of it; chusing rather to obey a voice within, which said to him, *noli fugere*, don't run away.

When he was called forth to the hurdle, he obeyed the summons with a remarkable courage and chearfulness: and laid himself down, more like one that was going to his marriage-feast, than to suffer a cruel and ignominious death. There was a great concourse of people, and many of the nobility and gentry at the place of execution; amongst the rest, the earl of Exeter, one of the privy-council: who endeavoured to persuade the confessor to save his life by taking the oath; alledging that several priests had taken it, and that many more looked upon it a disputable matter, in which faith was not concerned; why therefore should he be so stiff, and not rather embrace the offer of the king's clemency, by conforming as others had done. Father Thomas replied, My lord, if the case be so doubtful and disputable, how can I in conscience swear to what is doubtful, as if it were certain? No, I will not take the oath, though I might have a thousand lives.

Upon this being ordered to get up into the cart, he chearfully complied, and kissed the gallows, as the happy instrument which was to send him to heaven. He there professed that he was a priest, and a member of the society of Jesus, though the least and most unworthy: that he had not indeed acknowledged this at his trial, not out of any fear of death, but that he might not be his own accuser, or put his judges under a necessity of condemning him against their conscience: that he had spent the nine years of his missionary labours in assisting and comforting the persecuted catholics, and in bringing back the sheep that were gone astray to the fold of Christ; but as for any treasonable designs against the king or kingdom, he had never entertained any, nor ever been conscious to any. A minister that was there asked him, If there was no equivocation in what he said? The confessor replied, No, sir; for if I had been minded to use equivocations, I might have taken the oath and saved my life: which oath I did not decline out of any unwillingness to profess my allegiance to the king, which I offered to do, and for that end produced at my trial a form of an oath of allegiance, drawn up according to what was looked upon satisfactory in the days of our forefathers, to which I was willing to swear: but this new oath is so worded, as to contain things quite

foreign to allegiance, to which in my opinion no catholic can with a safe conscience swear.

Then crossing his hands before his breast, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, He looked upon this as the most happy day of his life, and himself most happy in being to die in so good a cause: and heartily prayed to God, that he would turn away his wrath from this nation, and not lay his death to their charge: and in particular that he would forgive all those who had any ways concurred to his condemnation, and that he might one day see them happy with him in heaven. After which he recited the Lord's prayer, the Hail Mary, and the creed. Then having begun the hymn *Veni Creator*, when he came to those words, *sermone ditans guttura*, the cart was drawn away, and he was left hanging, till he had given up his pious soul into the hands of his Creator. For the people, that was present, and my lord Exeter in particular would not permit the rope to be cut, till he was quite dead.—He suffered at Tyburn, June 23, 1608, *Anno Aetatis* 34. His execution is mentioned by Howes upon Stow, Collier, Salmon, &c.

The year 1609 passed without the shedding of any catholic blood for religious matters: a thing the more to be remarked, because the like had not happened since the year 1580.

1610.—In February 1610, I find in B. W's manuscript concerning the English benedictin congregation, that F. Sigebert Buckley, the last surviving monk of the abbey of Westminster, departed this life in the 93d year of his age: after having endured forty years persecution for the catholic faith, always shut up in one prison or another.

147. * *Roger Cadwallador, Priest.*

THIS gentleman, who was commonly known upon the mission by the name of Rogers, was born at Stretton near Sugeres "or Sugwas," in Herefordshire. His father was a yeoman, a man of substance, and Roger was his eldest son and heir; but yet he could by no means be brought to follow the world, but even from a boy was very assiduous in serving God, and learning his book, wherein he surpassed most of his school-fellows. His desire of improving himself in religion and study carried him beyond the seas, where he entered himself a student in Douay college, at that time residing at Rhemes. Of this college he was an Alumnus, and having made great progress in learning and virtue, he received there most of his orders. For I find him in the Douay diary ordained sub-deacon at Rhemes, Sept. 21, 1591, and deacon, Feb. 24, 1592. In the August following he was sent into Spain, to the college lately erected at Valladolid, where he finished his studies,

* From two manuscript relations sent me from Douay; gathered partly out of his own letters, partly from the testimony of the reverend Mr. John Stevens, a neighbouring missionary, and other unexceptionable witnesses. Item, from the Douay diary, and from Dr. Pits, *de scriptoribus*, &c. in Rog. Cadwallador.

and was made priest ; and from thence returned home to labour in the vineyard of his Lord about the year 1594.

He is taken notice of by Dr. Pits for his rare genius for learning, and great knowledge in the Greek tongue, out of which he translated Theodoret's Philotheus, or the lives of the fathers of the Syrian deserts, which work of his is extant in print. He had also a great talent for controversy. His labours in England were employed in his own country of Herefordshire, where he deservedly gained the character of a pious, prudent, and zealous missionary : and God was pleased to bless his labours with great success, in winning over many souls to Christ and his church ; especially among the poorer sort, for whose comfort and spiritual assistance he spared no pains, night nor day ; usually performing his journies on foot. And this apostolical kind of life he continued for about 16 years.

‘ This venerable priest, says my manuscript relation of his sufferings, ‘ was apprehended on Easter day, 1610, “ at the house of Mrs. Wine- ‘ fride Scroope, widow” within eight miles of Hereford, by James ‘ Prichard the under sheriff of that county ; and brought first to the ‘ high sheriff, and then to the bishop of the diocese “ Robert Bennet” ‘ who having long thirsted after his innocent blood, seemed extraor- ‘ dinarily glad of his apprehension.

‘ In his examination before the bishop, being asked what he was ? ‘ He answered that this was not a fit interrogation : alledging, that a ‘ man should by right rather be examined what he had done or com- ‘ mitted ; and in that also he craved the favour which all just laws ‘ allow, that they would not go about to wrest matters from himself ‘ against himself, having not so much as one accuser to charge him ‘ with any thing. This answer not serving his turn, and the bishop ‘ still continuing to beg him upon his conscience to confess whether he ‘ was a priest : he acknowledged (without more ado) both his priest- ‘ hood and his right name. Adding, that he presumed his being a ‘ priest would make nothing against him ; especially in the presence ‘ of a bishop, whom it did greatly concern to maintain and defend the ‘ dignity of priesthood. For, my lord, said he, either you must ‘ yield yourself properly to be a priest, or I can safely prove that you ‘ are no bishop. Which he offered to make good, if they would bring ‘ him books plentifully citing contents out of the fathers fit for his ‘ purpose. But the books they would not bring to decide the ‘ contention. Only the bishop seemed much to insist upon this one ‘ point, that Christ was the only sacrificing priest of the New Testa- ‘ ment, in that proper signification (of the name priest) which is not ‘ common to all christians ; so to free himself from being a priest. ‘ Which made the blessed martyr return him this witty answer. Make ‘ that good, I pray you, my lord, for so you will prove that I am no ‘ more a priest than other men, and consequently no traitor or offender ‘ against your law. To which the bishop being able to make no solid ‘ reply ; one Holkins, that was sent to cover the bishop's disgrace, ‘ spoke to this effect. I assure you, my lord, it is strange to see the ‘ alacrity and courage of those kind of men ; I heard his majesty with

' his own mouth say in this present parliament, that the number and
 ' courage of this kind of men is so great, that if I should (quoth he)
 ' put them to death as often as they fall into my hands, I believe I
 ' should never have done.

' Then was the disputation turned into a scoffing at his not shaving
 ' his head and beard, and at his going like a layman in attire: although
 ' his dress were not so light, or any way so phantastical as might give
 ' any just cause of offence; yet they spared not to make sport with
 ' a little silk point which tied his hose about his knee. Lastly, the
 ' bishop being angry to see his answers so little regarded (the good
 ' man ever smiling to see them so forward) thought it best to use the
 ' force of his authority, where his arguments seemed feeble. Where-
 ' upon asking whether he would take the oath of allegiance, and he
 ' refusing it, he committed him to prison, giving his keeper strict
 ' orders to look narrowly to him; thundering out threats against him,
 ' in case he should escape.

' The charge was not more strictly given by the bishop, than put
 ' in execution by the keeper, who loaded him with irons both night
 ' and day. At first he made him wear a great bolt, besides the heavi-
 ' est shackles the prison could afford: and when after a while, by
 ' reason of his sickness (as it may seem) it was thought fit to ease him
 ' of his bolt; yet they would never take away his shackles, but added
 ' now and then another pair. Insomuch that when he was to be re-
 ' moved from Hereford jail to Leominster, though he was forced to
 ' go all the way on foot, feeble and weak as he was with bad usage
 ' and sickness together, yet could he not obtain to be free from shac-
 ' kles in his journey; but it was thought a sufficient favour that a boy
 ' was permitted to go by his side, to bear up by a string the weight
 ' of some iron-links which were wired to the shackles.

' Besides this, when he was condemned to die, which was some
 ' months before his martyrdom, he was chained every night to the
 ' bed-post with an iron-chain. Yea, one day the keeper led him
 ' into an obscure and loathsome place; and left him there chained to a
 ' post, where he had no place to sit or ease himself, and no more li-
 ' berty to walk than the length of the chain allowed him, which was
 ' but two yards at most: where he continued till the keeper's wife, mov-
 ' ed with compassion, came in her husband's absence to let him
 ' loose.

' In his sickness, the keeper and his wife had no care to afford
 ' him any comfort; but rather were vigilant to bar him of all solace
 ' that catholics did offer: insomuch that when his brother's wife came
 ' to bring him some small thing——she could not have access, but was
 ' reviled by the keeper's wife with many opprobrious words, as his
 ' concubine, among other bad terms, protesting she would fling what
 ' was provided out into the streets, rather than the sick priest should
 ' have it. Yea, instead of human comfort, they daily heaped upon
 ' him grievances; sometimes giving out that he had yielded, and pro-
 ' mised to recant if he might have a benefice. All which the good man
 ' did patiently endure, though he never gave the least occasion to such
 ' malicious slanders.

‘ In the extremity of his sickness, he was summoned on a sudden to a second dispute before the bishop; and made to rise out of his bed all in a sweat, so that he swooned before he could get out of doors: and yet in that distress he was brought to dispute with the bishop and his doctors, who were prepared for him with a cart-load of books, observing, as may be thought, on purpose this time of advantage over him. He answered little; but being prest about the marriage of priests, could not forbear saying; Their ministers might marry as well as other laymen; and if the catholic church did debar her clergy from marriage, why should that grieve them, whom the prohibition did no ways concern? And though the bishop made some appearance of being displeased at his man, for bringing him before him in that plight; yet when the good man pleaded his indisposition he was not regarded.’

Mr. Cadwallador was condemned barely on account of his priestly character, no other treason being laid to his charge. He wrote several letters in prison, one to Mr. Birket the archpriest. Another to Mr. John Stevens, a neighbouring missionary, recommending to them the care of his flock. Other letters also of much edification, he wrote to other friends in the midst of his manifold sufferings. In one of which written, as it seems, when he was now near his crown, he delivers himself thus:

‘ Comfort yourselves, my friends, in this, that I die in an assurance of salvation; which if you truly love me, as you ought to do, should please you better, than to have me alive a little while among you for your content, and then to die with great uncertainty, either to be saved or damned. If the manner of my death be shameful; yet not more than my Saviour’s was: if it be painful, yet not more than my Saviour’s was. Only have you care to persevere in God’s true faith and charity; and then we shall meet again to our greater comfort that shall never end. Fare ye well.’

The particulars of his death are thus related in the same manuscript which we have quoted above. ‘ The long-desired day wherein he was to suffer, being come at last, he and his bed-fellow Mr. Powel, a lay-catholic prisoner, left their beds by three o’clock in the morning, and were on their knees in prayer till eight; at which time, and all the day after, the resort of people that came to see him, was very great; whose streaming tears, being only strangers to him, gave evident signs of their compassion; many of them protesting that they would undertake to go barefoot many a hundred miles to do him any good: for which their good-will he courteously and kindly thanked them: acquainting them how glorious a thing he looked upon it to die for Christ and the catholic faith.

‘ Having spent most of the morning in spiritual preparation (for his end) about ten o’clock he took some corporal food, viz. a little comfortable broth; and calling for a pint of claret wine and sugar, on occasion of a friend that was come to visit him, he made use of the words of bishop Fisher in the like case, as he said, when he was taking a cordial, before the like combat of death; *fortitudinem meam ad te domine custodiam*, Saying in English, he took it to make him-

‘ self strong to suffer for God. Then, as if he had been to go to a
‘ feast, he put on his wedding-garment (viz. a new suit of cloaths)
‘ which a friend had provided for him, from top to toe, whom he re-
‘ quited with a good and godly exhortation, counselling him to per-
‘ severe till death in the catholic faith; and giving him directions to
‘ bestow twelve pence of his money on the porter; for he kept two
‘ shillings in his own pocket to bestow on him that was to lead and
‘ drive the horse, when he went to execution.

‘ Some half an hour before the time of his suffering, the keeper,
‘ for a farewell, used all his art and cunning to make him distempered
‘ with passion; but found him so well fenced with patience, that it
‘ was all in vain. So he remained in readiness, expecting the com-
‘ ing of the sheriff to conduct him to the place of execution; which
‘ happened to be about four o’clock in the afternoon. At which time
‘ the under-sheriff came accompanied among others with the exe-
‘ cutioners, who were a couple of masons clad in long garments all in
‘ black, and their faces covered with the same, which made them
‘ seem ugly and dreadful. The champion of Christ, nothing daunted
‘ at the sight, at his first coming out of the doors, chearfully viewed all
‘ the company, demanding what was to be done? The under-sheriff
‘ made answer, Nothing, sir, if you please; for if you will but take
‘ the oath of allegiance here, you may save us labour, and yourself
‘ much pain; which he constantly refusing to perform, the under-
‘ sheriff replied, That then he was to die; and directed him to lie
‘ down upon the hurdle. But he seemed loath to concur any way
‘ himself to his own death, insinuating, that others rather should
‘ execute that office: which those two black hell-hounds quick-
‘ ly did, stretching him on the hurdle, and with cords fastened him
‘ thereto.

‘ Being thus bound to the hurdle, he made the sign of the cross as
‘ well as he could, and quietly betook himself to some heavenly con-
‘ templation, continuing in it all the way to the place of execution,
‘ and for about a quarter of an hour after his coming thither. Then
‘ the under-sheriff thinking he did but delay, and seek to prolong the
‘ time, interrupted his devotion, making profer of life again, if he
‘ would take the oath; which he refusing, the under-sheriff said,
‘ Then Lord have mercy on you. Being taken off the hurdle, and
‘ brought within sight of the gallows, and the block whereon he was
‘ to be quartered, they shewed him these and other instruments of
‘ death, leading him between two great fires, the one prepared to
‘ burn his heart and bowels, the other to boil his head and quarters:
‘ and thinking the sight of these did somewhat terrify him, they pro-
‘ mised him once more that none of them should touch him, if he
‘ would take the oath; but his christian courage made him persist in
‘ his resolution of dying in that quarrel. And yet after he had
‘ prayed a while at the foot of the ladder, being wished to make haste,
‘ for that night approached, to give satisfaction to some gentlemen pre-
‘ sent, that often inculcated to him the taking of the oath, he openly pro-
‘ tested that he acknowledged and held his majesty that now is, to be the
‘ true and lawful king of this realm, and other his dominions; and that he
‘ was very willing to swear to him all true allegiance; that is, to be

' true unto him as far as the law of God and conscience did oblige
 ' any subject to his sovereign. Whereupon some gentlemen present
 ' applauded this his protestation, wishing him to proceed forward to
 ' the rest of the oath, &c. No, said the martyr, there is secret poison
 ' in the sequel. The gentlemen laboured by many words to persuade
 ' him the contrary; and that in the contents of the oath there was no
 ' denial meant of the pope's spiritual authority, but only a meer ac-
 ' knowledgment of allegiance to the sovereign prince. Then one
 ' Richardson, a minister, importuning him to give his opinion about
 ' the oath; he answered, it was a matter of no great importance,
 ' what his private opinion was; and that they should rather regard
 ' what was the sentiment of the church: and that his swearing would
 ' neither diminish the pope's real authority, nor increase the king's.

' Being helped up the ladder, he began to signify to the people,
 ' that he was brought there to die for the catholic faith; and for that
 ' he was a priest; and for coming over to his country to minister the
 ' sacraments to God's children, and to reduce the seduced, that were
 ' gone astray, from their errors to the right paths of salvation. And
 ' then comforting himself with these words of St. Peter. (1 Pet. iv.)
 ' *Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as a coveter of*
 ' *others' things: but if as a christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him*
 ' *glorify God in this name,* he was interrupted by Richardson, the
 ' minister, saying, he misapplied the place of scripture, being to
 ' suffer for treason in the highest degree. To whom the martyr mildly
 ' replied, You mistake, sir, I was condemned only for being a priest;
 ' and it is apparent by the public profers which have been made me,
 ' if I would condescend to take the new oath, that I am not guilty
 ' of treason in the highest degree. Then he went forward, desiring
 ' the people to bear him witness that he died as a priest for the
 ' catholic cause; and begging that if any catholics were present, they
 ' would say a *Pater-noster* with him privately; if publicly they durst
 ' not, for fear of discovering themselves.

The *Pater-noster* and *Ave Maria* being ended, and the minister
 ' asking, Whether he would say a *Pater* with him? He smiling
 ' answered, You shall first yield to say one with me. When the
 ' unskilful executioner went to put the halter about his neck, he
 ' seemed to receive it very patiently, as the yoke of his master:
 ' saying, he freely forgave his executioner, and all others that were
 ' accessory to his death; but Robert Bennet by name, meaning the
 ' bishop, whose finger being deepest in his blood, yet he said he
 ' wished him a higher place in heaven than himself. He desired
 ' also of God that he might be the last that should be forced to die
 ' in England for defence of the catholic faith; and that his blood
 ' might serve, by the grace and merits of Christ, to blot and wipe
 ' out of memory whatever stain or blemish was come to his country
 ' in this cause, by the loose and scandalous lives of any that went in
 ' the name of catholic priests.

' Then he betook himself to his private prayers till the executioner
 ' came to turn the ladder: at which time he said aloud five or six
 ' times. *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.* Into thy

‘ hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. And lastly, *Domine accipe spiritum meum*. Lord receive my spirit. He hung very long, and in extraordinary pain, by reason that the knot, through the unskillfulness of the hangman, came to be directly under his chin, serving only to pain, and not to dispatch him. Insomuch that when the people were persuaded that he was thoroughly dead, he put up his hand to the halter, as if he had either meant to shew how his case stood, or else to ease himself: but bethinking himself better, and perhaps a scruple coming into his head to concur to hasten his own death; he had scarce touched the halter, but that he presently pulled away his hand. And within the space of a *Pater-noster* after, he lifted up his hand again to make the sign of the cross; which made all the standers by much amazed; and some of the vulgar desirous to rid him of his pain, lifted him upwards by the legs twice or thrice, letting him fall again with a swag. Then after a little rest, when they thought him quite dead, he was cut down: but when he was brought to the block to be quartered, before the bloody butcher could pull off his doublet, he revived and began to breathe; which the multitude perceiving began to murmur; which made the under-sheriff cry out to the executioner to hasten: but before they had stripped him naked he was come to a very perfect breathing. It was long after they had opened him before they could find his heart, which, notwithstanding, panted in their hands when it was pulled out. As soon as the head was cut off, one of the sheriff’s men lifted it up on the point of a halbert, expecting the applause of the people, who made no sign that the fact was pleasing to them. Nay, they that were present were struck at the sight, and said, *this priest’s behaviour and death would give great confirmation to all the papists of Herefordshire*: which saying fell out to be true; for it ministered to them great courage and comfort.’ So far my old manuscript.

Here is added in another hand, ‘ He used to travel much a-foot, and living commonly amongst the poorer sort, both endured much, and did exceeding great good, converting very many.—He was a very zealous reformer of evil manners, and sought this by all means whatsoever in all. One noble saying I heard reported of him was, that a notable person coming unto him in his sickness, and he lying on his bed with his shackles on his legs, shaking them he said to him; That the high priest of the old law had little bells about the rim of his vestment; and I stirring my legs say, *Audi domine; hæc sunt tintinabula mea*: Hear O Lord, these are my little bells. Signifying belike that these were as acceptable to God as that sound of the little bells.—Mr. Cadwallador suffered at Leominster, or Leominster, in Herefordshire, August 27. anno 1610. *Ætatis suæ* 43.

148. * *George Nappier, Priest.*

GEORGE NAPPIER was born in Oxford, and there performed his grammar studies. From thence he passed over to Douay, or Rhemes,

* From T. W. and Raissius in their printed catalogues. But chiefly from a manuscript relation by a fellow prisoner, which I have met with in Mr. Knaresborough’s collections.

and became a student in the English college. Whilst he was here, among many other rare examples of virtue which he gave, his charity for his neighbours was particularly taken notice of; when in the time of a plague, two of his fellow-students being seized with the infection, he voluntarily took upon him to attend them and to take care of them, not without evident danger of his own life; for he was also himself quickly seized by the contagion. But that sickness was not unto death, for all three by the mercy of God soon after recovered. Having finished his studies, and received his orders in 1596, he resided for some time at Antwerp; and from thence in 1603, being the first year of king James the first, he passed over into England. Dr. Worthington in his catalogue gives this short account of his conduct, during the seven years of his mission in England, that he was remarkably laborious in gaining souls to God. *Strenuam navavit lucrandis animabus operam*, p. 51. In the year 1610, he fell into the hands of the persecutors. The particulars of his seizure, and of what passed from that time till his death are here abridged from a manuscript penned by a catholic gentleman who was a fellow-prisoner with him in Oxford goal.

A true Relation of the Martyrdom of Mr. George Nappier, &c. in a Letter to a Clergyman.

My Rev. Friend,

ACCORDING to your request, I have here set down all the particulars that befell Mr. Nappier, from the time of his apprehension, until his exit out of this world.

And first, I have heard him say, that he had made it his prayer to God, that if by the disposition of divine Providence he should fall into the enemies' hands, he might not be taken in his friend's house, because of the penalty of the laws against harbourers of priests—and it seems that God was pleased to hear his prayer. For being seen by a young fellow to go into a catholic woman's house on the 18th of July towards evening, the knave ran in great haste to the vicar's house, to give notice and concert measures with him for seizing the priest.

The informer met with a cold reception at the first, the parson's daughter flatly refusing to tell whether her father was at home; and the mother being no less reserved, and unwilling to let the man come under her roof.—Some few days before, it seems, a quarrel had happened between this blade and the parson; so that his furious knocking at the door, and calling for the vicar in haste, with such disorder in his looks and speech, joined to the fright that both mother and daughter were in from a dream of the latter the night before, that her father was murdered, affected the good women in such manner, that they held fast the door and refused him entrance. The fellow perceived the mistake, and bid them be easy, for that he came upon another sort of an errand, to do a piece of good service to the church, and assist the vicar in seizing a popish priest just gone into one of his parishioner's houses. Upon this they began to listen to the man, and the parson was called down; who commended the young man's zeal, but was of opinion that nothing was to be done that night, but that they would take care to have him secured early in the morning; and accordingly a constable was engaged to be ready for that purpose.

Mr. Nappier having assisted the family, and performed his devotions very early, according to the custom of those times, took his leave, and was making the best of his way on foot (his usual way of travelling) through the inclosures, supposing all quiet at that early hour, when to his great surprise two or three sturdy young fellows came up hastily towards him, and bad him stand.—You must go back with us, says one: You are a priest, says another, we'll have you before a justice.—The good man made no words on't, but went quietly with them.

And first they charged the constable with him, and bade him carry him before Sir Francis Evers. When he came, the justice ordered the constable to search him.—It must be here observed, that Mr. Nappier had his *pix* with him, and in it two consecrated hosts—and as he owned to me several times, when he heard Sir Francis give the constable orders to search, he was under the greatest concern, for fear lest the blessed sacrament should fall into their hands, and be exposed to some profane or sacrilegious treatment.—And he farther assured me, not without tears in his eyes, that whereas the search was most strict, even so far that his shoes were pulled off in the presence of the justice, that nothing might escape them. And whereas also in searching of his pockets, the constable, to his feeling, had his hands many times both upon the *pix* and upon a small reliquary, yet neither of them were discovered, to the great surprise and no less joy of the good man. A passage he never spoke of during his confinement without blessing and praising the divine goodness for this merciful, may I not venture to term it with him, even miraculous preservation? For after all their labour, they only found his breviary, his holy oils, a needle-case, thread and thimble. Sir Francis said he was but a poor priest, and I verily believe, says he, no great statesman,—and bade the constable take him into his custody, and look well to him. The constable replied, he should take a special care of his not making his escape, and would therefore set him in the stocks till his worship should otherwise dispose of him. But Sir Francis forbid him, and ordered the constable to let him have a bed, and what else he called for,—and Sir Francis used him very kindly at his own house, as did my lady. ‘She provided me a mess of good broth, said Mr. Nappier, for my supper; and in the morning, when I was again brought before Sir Francis, in order to receive my mittimus, my lady provided for me a mess of milk, with cinnamon and sugar for my breakfast; and that being the 20th of July they carried me to Oxford goal.

The prisoner was brought to the bar the next assizes, which happened soon after his commitment, and was tried before Mr. Justice Crook, upon an indictment of high treason, for taking priestly orders by authority derived from Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the laws.

The judge asked him whether he was a priest? The prisoner answered, If he was such the law did not compel him to discover himself: but if, my lord says he, you have witnesses to prove me a priest, let them be called.—Once more the judge said to him, Will you deny that you are a priest? Mr. Nappier replied, if any man

will prove me in orders, let the court produce him; and then, my lord, I shall submit to the penalty of the law. The judge then directed his discourse to the jury in these or the like words.—Gentlemen, you hear the prisoner will not deny himself to be a priest; and therefore you may certainly believe that he is a priest. For my part, if he will but here say that he is no priest, I will believe him.—But indeed these instruments of his priestly functions “the oil boxes” do plainly shew him to be in orders; and therefore you have evidence sufficient that he is *guilty* of the indictment. Upon which the prisoner was brought in guilty by the jury.

His relations made great interest to obtain a reprieve for him, and his execution was respited 'till the month of November; and, probably speaking, had not some back friends, more especially the vice-chancellor of Oxford and some others interposed, his reprieve might have been continued from time to time, and he either transported, or permitted to languish away his life in durance, as many others had done before him. But two faults he was guilty of, which according to the divinity of these men were crimes unpardonable. There was a poor wretch tried at the same assizes for felony, and found guilty, whose name was Falkner. Some few days before his execution, he was reconciled by Mr. Nappier, and had all the helps that a dying man could expect, as far as circumstances of time and place would allow. In short, at the gallows the matter was discovered, the poor man declared himself a catholic, abjured the errors of his former religion, as well as begged pardon of God, and of all the world for the sins of his past life; and with great appearances of repentance, and a devout behaviour, submitted himself to the executioner.

The people stormed; the ministers threw all the blame upon the condemned priest, made a heavy rout, called for justice, and went strait away to Abington, to make complaint to the judges. The high sheriff and the vice-chancellor were ordered to examine into the fact, and lay before their lordsips a true account of the whole proceedings, with the names of the persons concerned in the perversion of this poor fellow. Mr. Nappier was sent for to Christ Church, and strictly examined by the vice-chancellor and the high sheriff about the whole affair. To these he gave this fair account; that he had no discourse nor acquaintance with Falkner, 'till they had both received sentence of death; and he was removed from his former chamber to the condemned hole, where he found the said Falkner. ‘Here he applied to me
 ‘(said Mr. Nappier) for my advice and instruction how to make a
 ‘happy end, and save his soul. I was glad of the opportunity, encouraged him in his good resolutions, and on my part endeavoured
 ‘by all proper means to improve these pious motions of the holy
 ‘spirit, in order to bring him to a true repentance and confession of
 ‘his sins.’ In a word, Mr. Nappier told him without more ado, that he was the person whom God was pleased to make use of for reconciling the poor wretch to him and his church, and that as he was the only person concerned, he desired that no other might be questioned or troubled about it.

The high sheriff and vice-chancellor gave him to understand, that

they were to lay this whole matter before the judges, who were highly displeased with what they had already heard; and that as soon as they had received this farther confirmation by his owning the fact before them, they persuaded themselves it would put a stop to the reprieve, and hasten his execution. 'Their will be done, says Mr. Napier, I did nothing but what I thought a strict duty; and so far I am from repining any ways at what is done, that if you please, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with my hearty commendations to my good lord judges, you may assure them, that if they will come back to Oxford, and give me the same opportunity, I will do as much for their lordships.'

The vice-chancellor asked him, whether he would take the oath of allegiance? he told him with all his heart, as far as it related to the obedience due to princes in temporals only; and would acknowledge upon oath, if he pleased, that king James was his liege sovereign, and that he was vested with as much authority over all his subjects, catholics as well as protestants, as any of his predecessors whatsoever. They insisted upon his taking the oath of allegiance, as set forth in the act of parliament, and upon this condition they promised him his life should be saved. But this he refused. Then they persuaded him to peruse Mr. Blackwell's treatise of the lawfulness of this oath, and the vice-chancellor called for the book. Mr. Napier took it, and gave it a reading: but some few days after sent back the book, and told Mr. Vice-chancellor, that he still continued in his former resolution, the oath of allegiance as it stood worded he would not take.

It was soon after noised about, that Mr. Napier was to be executed in a few days. However nothing was done till the return of the judges from their circuits. Then indeed Judge Crook (as the report then went) managed matters in such sort with the council, that a warrant was sent to the high sheriff for the execution of the prisoner. But here by the unwearied endeavours of his relations, his majesty was again petitioned, and another short reprieve was obtained till the 9th of November; upon condition, that in the interim he should confer with the vice-chancellor and other learned divines. The vice-chancellor happening to be at London during most of the time, Dr. Hammond and the pro-proctor had instructions to discourse with Mr. Napier upon the subject of the oath of allegiance. &c. And it is said of him, that these conferences were managed with so much calmness, humility, and candor on the part of the prisoner, that these gentlemen were not a little moved with his meek and modest behaviour, and made their report in such favourable terms, as plainly shewed their great unwillingness to have him suffer.

Some few days before the expiration of the reprieve, the vice-chancellor returning, sent again to have the prisoner brought before him, and interrogated him upon the old chapter, was he yet disposed to take the oath of allegiance? The prisoner offered him a draught of an oath of fidelity, which he was ready to take. But the vice-chancellor told him in plain terms, that nothing would satisfy but the parliamentary oath. If he would take this, he would use his best endeavours to save him, and not otherwise.

On Thursday the 8th of November the discourse was revived that he was to die, and that the next day. The report was brought to the catholic gentleman prisoner in the same gaol, and the good man himself was not kept in ignorance. A special friend of his, "a priest," sent him word that day, that he purposed to sup with him. Mr. Nappier understood the message: and as this confirmed him in his opinion that his dissolution was at hand; so it extremely rejoiced him to have the comfort of a priest, and the benefit of the church's absolution to prepare him for his death. He shut himself up under a stricter confinement upon this notice, and employed the remainder of the day in devotion: but withal desired his fellow-prisoner, "the writer of this relation," to order a breast of mutton for supper, and to invite two poor catholics to sup with him, which was done accordingly.

Thus far we have only abridged the account given by this catholic gentleman. What follows is set down in his own words, copied from the original.

' Little did he eat at supper, only a piece of pigeon-pye, and after a
' few stewed prunes, which one of his sisters had brought him; and
' very merry he was that evening. And being at supper I said unto
' him, Mr. Nappier, if it be God's holy will that you should suffer, I do
' wish with all my heart, that it might be to-morrow, it being Friday, and
' said, that our Saviour did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples on
' Thursday at night, and suffered the Friday following: and therefore I
' wish, if you must die, it might be to-morrow. He answered me
' very sweetly, saying, welcome by God's grace; and I pray God I
' may be constant; praying us all to pray for him. And thus much I
' must let you understand, that every time that he heard news that
' he should suffer, he would give to some poor body that was catholic,
' some of his cloaths; and I would say unto him, methinks you might
' make reservation of them again, if you should not die; he would say
' unto me, oh, no, for I have more upon my back than I brought into
' the world, and if I live I will put myself to God's providence. And
' truly if he had lived he had left himself little more than he brought
' into the world, for he had given almost all away. After supper he
' and the other good man withdrew themselves to a secret place to con-
' fer of some special matters, and when they had made an end, they
' took their leaves of one another, and so did all the company, and every
' man to his chamber.

' The next day being Friday, and the 9th of November, about six
' in the morning, the under sheriff sent to the keeper's wife, and willed
' her to let Mr. Nappier know, that he should prepare himself to die,
' for that was the day, between one and two in the afternoon that he
' should be executed. The poor woman took it very grievously, and
' fell a crying, and came to me. I hearing her cry much, marvelled
' what the matter should be, and came and met her at my chamber-
' door, and asked what the matter was? who answered me crying, oh,
' the blessed man must die this day, and I cannot find in my heart to go
' tell him of it. I answered her again, welcome by God's grace; for
' now I am assured it is God's will to have it so, and therefore I will go
' unto him myself to let him understand the news. And so I went

‘ to his chamber, and knocking at his door, he came and opened
‘ it, and I saluted him and asked him how he did? And he answered me,
‘ saying, well, I thank almighty Jesus. And I asked him how he slept
‘ in the night? and he said, very well, I thank God. Then I said un-
‘ to him, that the bell had tolled, and rung out also: and he asked me
‘ what I meant by those speeches? I said unto him again, that now he
‘ must put on his armour of proof, for he must fight that day a great bat-
‘ tle. He took me in his arms and embraced me, saying, it was the best
‘ news that ever was brought unto him, and I was most heartily wel-
‘ come for declaring of it unto him, saying farther, that he found him-
‘ self cleansed, he hoped, from all the rust which had troubled him
‘ long before. And as I thought he rejoiced much, and asked me if he
‘ might not serve God, “say mass,” that day? I said, the day was far
‘ spent, but if it pleased him I would go and make all things ready:
‘ and he prayed me to do so, for he was ready: and surely methought
‘ he did celebrate that day, as reverently in all his actions, and with as
‘ much sweet behaviour, as ever I saw him in all my life; for I did
‘ take special notice of him; he shewed no fear in any respect; and
‘ when he had made an end, and all things were laid aside, he fell to
‘ his devotions; and by the end of our service many scholars were
‘ come into the castle-yard, and into the court. And after he had
‘ prayed some hours I came unto him, and asked him, if I should send
‘ for some comfortable thing for him to drink? and he answered me,
‘ no; saying, he would neither eat nor drink, hoping in his Saviour,
‘ that he should have a sumptuous banquet shortly. And after a little
‘ stay I considered that his time drew somewhat near, I came unto him
‘ again, and put him in mind of shifting him with a fair shirt, and he
‘ said he would willingly do so: and then I made him a fire, and
‘ warmed his shirt, and coming down to put on his shirt, he made a
‘ step down amongst the poor prisoners, and did distribute some money
‘ amongst them; and coming up again, he brought a piece of silver of
‘ half a crown, and some money besides, and laid it in my chamber
‘ window: and I asked him what he would do with that piece of silver,
‘ having the picture of St. George? and he told me, that he would
‘ give it to the executioner for his pains; and the rest he would give
‘ to some poor people; and so he did. And when he had put on his
‘ clean shirt he fell to his prayers again. He had prayed but a short
‘ time when a couple of scholars, masters of arts, and I think one of
‘ them was a minister, came in; and they began to offer some speeches
‘ to him concerning the oath of allegiance; he prayed them to give
‘ him leave, and to let him prepare himself, for he had not long to
‘ stay: and it stood upon him to call to mind all his reckonings, which
‘ he was to make to his Lord and Master; and therefore with most
‘ mild and sweet words he entreated them not to trouble him; and they,
‘ like honest-minded men, stayed their speeches, seeming to be sorry
‘ for him.—And then the pro-proctor cometh to the castle to speak with
‘ him, and he sent the keeper to bring Mr. Napier to him: he staying
‘ in the chamber with divers other scholars, and some others besides:
‘ and the blessed man being come unto him, he began to use some
‘ speeches to him, to persuade him to take the oath. But the good man
‘ prayed him to give him leave to spend that little time which was lent

him in prayer. And so kneeled down at a round table, and prayed a little. But the under-sheriff willed him to make him ready, for all things were almost ready for the execution. And then he rose up and went into a little chamber hard by, and put on a white waistcoat, &c. and being apparalled to the end that the law had appointed, he came again into the keeper's chamber, and I meeting my keeper, he asked me, if I had taken my leave of him? I answered I would willingly see him again. And he willed me to go up with him, and I should see him; and so I went with him into his chamber; and as I was coming in the blessed man was about to kneel down, and seeing me he staid; and I pressed through the scholars and came unto him, and kneeling down he blessed me, and rising up again he embraced me and kissed me. And I heard the pro-proctor ask, who I was? and one answered him, that I was a gentleman and a prisoner for my conscience. And then the blessed man began to kneel down, and the proctor said to him, Mr. Nappier, shall I pray with you? and he answered him in these words, oh, no, good Mr. Proctor, you and I are not of one religion, and therefore may not pray together. Then the proctor asked him again, saying, shall I pray for you? The blessed man said unto him, I would to God you were in a state of grace to pray for me. And then he kneeled down, and I kneeled by him, and I think he said but one *pater-noster*, for I could say but one, and presently the under-sheriff called very earnestly to come away: and so prostrating himself on the ground he kissed it, and rose up, and made the sign of the cross, and went forward to the dungeon door, where the hurdle staid for him. And coming by the proctor, the proctor said unto him, Mr. Nappier, if you will yet take the oath of allegiance, I make no doubt of your life. He spoke unto him and said, good Mr. Proctor, do not wrong me when I am gone, for I know many speeches will go of me; and now I say again unto you, that I have prayed most heartily for the king, the prince, and all his children, as any subject he hath in the world; and will yield him as much power and authority, as ever any prince had or ought to have. And then the hangman came unto him and asked him forgiveness, and the blessed man said and embraced him, I most lovingly forgive thee, and for a pledge I have willed one of the sheriff's men to give thee some silver; and the hangman said, he had received it, and thanked him for it. And so he being called for again he went forward, and coming down to the stairs foot, the door was open, and I followed him; and he seeing the hurdle, most willingly went himself and laid him down with a lively courage, having blessed himself: he had not so much as a thread to bind him, which I think never none but was bound saving himself. And then they offered to draw forward, and one of the pins of the trace broke, so they staid till it was fastened: and the people were so unreasonable in pressing themselves to see him, that they pressed me down twice upon the hurdle: and then I called to the proctor to command them to give back; and then I took both his hands in my hands, and prayed God to comfort him, and looking upon me he prayed God to bless me; and with much ado I got from the throng of people. And more than this I cannot set down of my own knowledge. What follows is the report of Mr. Charles's own hearing at the place where he suffered his martyrdom.

The 9th of November being Friday, 1610, it pleased God to appoint the time in which the faith of Mr. George Napier, priest, was to be tried in the furnace. Being brought therefore out of prison, and laid on the hurdle, with hands joined and his eyes fixed towards heaven, without moving any way, he was drawn to the place of execution. Where being taken off and set on his feet, beholding the place where he was to suffer, he signed himself with the sign of the cross; and ascending the steps of the ladder with a chearful mind to receive his martyrdom, turning his face towards the people, having again signed himself with the sign of the cross, he began to speak as follows: *Gentlemen, you must expect no great speech at my hands, for indeed I intend none; only I acknowledge myself to be a miserable and wretched sinner.* And therewithal joining his hands with intention to pray, he was interrupted by a minister who called to him, saying, Napier, Napier, confess your treason. Wherewith bending himself, and looking down towards him, he answered him saying, treason, sir! I thank God, I never knew what treason meant. To which the minister replied, be advised what you say, do not you remember how the judge told you it was treason to be a priest? he answered the minister again, *for that I die, sir, and that judge, as well as I, shall appear before the just Judge of heaven, to whom I appeal, who will determine whether it be treason or no to be a priest. And withal he protested that none but catholics can be saved.* After these words he desired that he might have leave to pray; whereunto the minister replied, pray for the king, to which he answered, so I do daily. But, said the minister, pray for the king now. With that he lifted up his hands and said, *I pray God preserve his majesty, and make him a blessed saint in heaven.* Then he desired the company that he might pray to himself. The minister interrupting him the third time, said, *go to pray, and we will pray with you.* To which he answered, *sir, I will none of your prayers, neither is it my desire you should pray with me, but I desire all good catholics to join with me in prayer.* So addressing himself to pray, he said, *in te Domine speravi, &c. In thee, O Lord, I have put my trust, let me not be confounded for ever:* then lifting up his hands and heart, he said the psalm, *De profundis, &c.* after that, *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, &c.*; lastly, the psalm *Miserere.* These being ended, he pulled down his night-cap over his eyes, and most part of his face, and often repeating these words: *in manus tuas, &c. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit:* he yielded himself to one side of the ladder, having his hands still joined. So being turned off, he struck himself three times on the breast, and yielded his blessed soul into his hands that gave it. Thus beseeching God to defend you from your enemies, I most humbly desire you to remember me in your prayers. From my cell this 19th day of December, 1610.

P S. His charity was great; for if any poor prisoner wanted either meat to fill him, or cloaths to cover him, he would rather be cold himself than they should; if any of them would pray him to give his word to the keeper for them, he would do it, if he paid it himself, as sometimes he did: and he would wait for the poorest prisoners in the castle. There was one wretch went away with 20 shillings and 9 pence of his, promising him he would send it him honestly, but he never heard of him. One

other he lent his cloak to wear a few days, to keep him warm ; and hath willed that as long as he stays in the gaol he must wear it, which I fear will be so long, that he will wear that out, and such another. And thus beseeching you once more of your prayers, I in all duty commend me.

Mr. Nappier suffered at Oxford, November 9, 1610. His head was set up on Christ Church steeple, and his quarters upon the four gates of the city.

148.* *John Roberts, priest, O. S. B.*

JOHN Roberts was born in Merionethshire of Wales, from whence he was called in religion, Father John de Mervinia. In what school or college he had his first education I have not found : though I find one of that name in the Douay diary, sent from Rhemes to Rome in 1583. If this be the gentleman we are treating of, he must afterwards have gone from Rome to Spain : for certain it is, that this Mr. Roberts was some time an alumnus of the English seminary of Valladolid ; and from thence betook himself to the Spanish congregation of Valladolid of the venerable order of St. Bennet ; amongst whom he entered in the year 1595. He was profest in the abbey of St. Martin of Compostella ; and having not long after received the holy order of priesthood in 1600, he was that same year sent upon the English mission : being the first, says father B. W. who out of a monastery (since the suppression of monasteries in England) came to attack the gates of hell, and encounter the prince of darkness in his usurped kingdom ; whom he overcame like his master, the great patron of martyrs, by losing his life in the conflict.

He was, says my author, a man of admirable zeal, courage, and constancy, who during his ten years' labours in the mission, was four times apprehended and committed to prison ; and as often sent into banishment ; but still returned again to the work of his master, upon the first favourable opportunity. His extraordinary charity evidently shewed itself during the time of a great plague in London ; where he assisted great numbers of the infected ; and was instrumental in the conversion of many souls from their former errors and vices. He was apprehended, for the fifth time, at mass, on the first Sunday of Advent 1610, and hurried away in his vestments, and thrust into a dark dungeon. From whence he was quickly after brought out to his trial ; and condemned to die barely for his priestly character. His life however was offered him, if he would have taken the new oath ; which he constantly refused.

My manuscript from St. Omers gives the following account of the execution of Mr. Roberts, and of Mr. Thomas Somers, alias Wilson, a secular priest of Douay college, who suffered at the same time and place.

‘ These two blessed men being drawn within 16 or 18 yards of the place of execution (Tyburn) the multitude of the gentry and of the

* From B. W.'s manuscript concerning the English benedictin congregation, extracted from the archives of their monasteries : from Raissius's catalogue of the Douay martyrs ; and from a manuscript sent me from the English college of St. Omers.

' common people was such and so great, that they could not draw them,
 ' to their intended place ; but were forced to take them from the hurdle
 ' and to send them to the carts : in which stood 16 condemned persons,
 ' with their ropes about their necks, and tied to the gallows. Father
 ' Roberts was first taken from the hurdle, who with a chearful and smiling
 ' countenance, walked in his gown to the cart, into which he offered to
 ' leap, but could not, being very weak, in regard of his sickness, until
 ' by the serjeants and other officers he was assisted. " He took notice
 ' upon this occasion that he was to be hanged amongst thieves ; upon
 ' which one of the officers put him in mind that his master was so serv-
 ' ed." As soon as his feet were seated in the cart, he turned himself
 ' towards the poor condemned prisoners, and displaying his hands, and
 ' blessing them, he said, we are all come hither to die, from which
 ' there is no hope of escape, and if you die in the religion now pro-
 ' fessed in England, you shall undoubtedly perish everlastingly : let me
 ' therefore, for the love of our blessed Saviour, intreat you that we may
 ' all die in one faith : in testimony whereof let me beseech you to pro-
 ' nounce with me those words, *I believe the holy catholic church*. Pro-
 ' testing your desires to die members of the same ; as also your sorrow-
 ' fulness for having led so naughty and wicked lives, whereby you have
 ' offended our sweet and merciful Saviour : which if you will truly and
 ' constantly profess, I will pronounce absolution, and then my soul for
 ' yours. And being purposed to have given them farther ghostly counsel,
 ' he was interrupted by a churlish officer, who would no longer permit
 ' him to speak to those poor people. Whereupon, falling down upon
 ' his knees, he privately poured forth some few prayers, which having
 ' finished, he suddenly rising up from his knees, with a smiling and
 ' most chearful countenance, turned himself to the people, and blessed
 ' them all.

' The executioner being very busy in pulling off his gown, he said,
 ' Mr. Sheriff, shall I not speak ? To which the sheriff, being a man of
 ' much humanity, replied, yes, Mr. Roberts, you shall speak ; and
 ' withal delivered to one of the officers a little glass of *aqua vitæ* to
 ' keep him from fainting in regard of his great weakness, whereof he
 ' drank a little quantity. During which time Mr. Somers his associate
 ' was likewise brought to the cart, to whom Mr. Roberts gave his hand
 ' to help him up, saying, welcome good brother : and then having em-
 ' braced and blessed each other, Mr. Roberts turned himself to the
 ' people, blessing them with a chearful countenance, and with an audible
 ' voice, said *audite cœli quæ loquor, audiat terra verba oris mei*. Which
 ' having Englished, saying, *honorable, worshipful, and my well beloved*
 ' *friends*, and beginning to proceed, he was again interrupted by the
 ' said churlish officer ; whose insolence was such that he was publicly
 ' taunted and rebuked by many gentlemen of great condition, they all
 ' protesting against his barbarous churlishness.

' Being thus hindered from dilating upon that scripture text formerly
 ' uttered ; having again blessed the people, he said, I am condemned to
 ' die, for that being a priest I came into England, contrary to a statute
 ' made in the 27th year of the late queen's reign. Other matter was
 ' not objected against me at my arraignment. And to the objection that
 ' he came into England without due authority, he replied, that he was

‘ sent into England by the same authority, by which St. Augustin the
 ‘ apostle of England was sent, whose disciple he was ; being of the same
 ‘ order, and living under the same rule in which he lived ; and that for
 ‘ the profession and teaching of that religion, which St. Augustin planted
 ‘ in England, he was now condemned to die.

‘ The executioners being as busy in making Mr. Wilson ready, as
 ‘ they had Mr. Roberts, he in this interim surveying the people, and
 ‘ blessing them, to many of his acquaintance, and to every one that
 ‘ saluted him with hat or otherwise, he returned a resalutation with be-
 ‘ nedictions : and then pronouncing those words, *memorare novissima*
 ‘ *tua*, let every man remember his end ; he farther added, *omnes nos*
 ‘ *manifestari oportet ante tribunal Christi* ; we must all appear before
 ‘ the judgment seat of Christ, there to give account of our faith and
 ‘ works : they that have done well shall go to everlasting life ; and they
 ‘ that have done evil into everlasting torments. Then blessing the people
 ‘ again, he prayed them to pardon him for not using more words, pro-
 ‘ testing inability of speech in regard of weakness. But for his last
 ‘ farewell, he entreated them to return to the unity of the catholic
 ‘ church ; praying them to take certain notice, that *extra ecclesiam non*
 ‘ *est salus* ; the English whereof he inforced himself to deliver with a
 ‘ most strong voice ; saying, unto this end I will not cease to pray for
 ‘ you all during my life ; and after my death I shall have greater ability
 ‘ to perform the same : and then he was again interrupted by that same
 ‘ rude officer, who so often before had interrupted him, saying, that it
 ‘ was not fit he should so persuade the people : to whom the principal
 ‘ officer replied, he speaks nothing against the king or state, and therefore
 ‘ I see no reason but that he may speak. To which the other replied,
 ‘ it must not be ; he must not be suffered to allure the king’s people in
 ‘ this sort. To which Mr. Roberts answered, I say nothing against the
 ‘ king : he is a good king ; I beseech God to bless him, his grave senate
 ‘ the council, the honourable bench by whom I was condemned, to-
 ‘ gether with all those that have been instruments of my death. Neither
 ‘ is it the king that causes us to die ; he is a clement king : it is heresy,
 ‘ it is heresy that does this.

‘ Being advised to put on his night-cap, he answered, do you think
 ‘ I fear the head ach ? And seeing the fire prepared to burn his bowels,
 ‘ he said, I perceive you prepare a hot breakfast for us. Then having
 ‘ given his last benedictions, as well to the whole multitude, as to those
 ‘ that knew or did salute him, putting his hands close to his eyes he
 ‘ prayed secretly until Mr. Wilson was full ready. Whose hands being
 ‘ fast tied, with a chearful and pleasant countenance, he “ Mr. Wilson”
 ‘ blessed all the people with these words, *benedicat vos omnipotens &*
 ‘ *misericors Dominus, pater & filius & spiritus sanctus*. And farther
 ‘ said, that he was condemned to die for being a priest ; as also for re-
 ‘ fusing an oath, now tendered as an oath of allegiance ; protesting him-
 ‘ self ever to have been a true, loyal, and faithful subject ; and that he
 ‘ refused not the oath, in respect of that allegiance, which the prince
 ‘ may challenge of his subjects, but in regard that it is so mixed with
 ‘ matters of religion, that it is expressly forbidden by the pope’s holiness,
 ‘ whom we are all bound to obey in matters of religion : and therefore
 ‘ he persuaded them all to obey this same supreme pastor of God’s

‘ church : affirming, as his blessed associate had done before, that out of the same church there is no salvation.

‘ And now they were informed by an officer, that they must instantly die : embracing therefore and blessing each other, and giving their last benedictions with manacled hands, Mr. Roberts, plucking his handkerchief over his eyes, said, *omnes sancti, & sanctæ Dei intercedite pro me* ; and Mr. Wilson, *in manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*. They were suffered to hang till they were thoroughly dead : then being cut down they were bowelled, beheaded, and quartered : their entrails being burnt, their quarters were buried in the same pit which was prepared for those poor wretches that then died ; all which sixteen bodies were cast upon them.’ So far the manuscript.

B. W. adds, that two nights after one of Mr. Roberts’ brethren, with some other catholics, dug out at midnight the quarters both of Mr. Roberts and Mr. Wilson from the pit into which they had been cast, and carried them off. But that as they were coming into the town at break of day, meeting with the watch, one of these pious thieves, that he might more certainly escape, let drop a leg and thigh of F. Roberts, which was taken up and carried to George Abbot, then bishop of London, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who was the man that had been father Roberts’ chief adversary, and had stood with greatest vehemency against him at his trial, animating the judge against him : and that he ordered them to be buried in the church of St. Saviour, to hinder the catholics from recovering them. The rest were carried to Douay, to the monastery of the English benedictins there. But one of F. Roberts’ arms was sent into Spain, to the abbey of St. Martin, at Compostella.—Mr. Roberts suffered at Tyburn, Dec. 10, 1610.

149. * *Thomas Somers, alias Wilson, Priest.*

MR. Somers, who was known upon the mission by the name of Wilson, was born in Westmoreland : where for some years he taught a grammar-school, to the great benefit of many, as well of his scholars, as of his other neighbours, whom he instructed in the christian catholic religion ; and some also of the more advanced he persuaded to go over to Douay, to the English college or seminary there ; in order to qualify themselves by learning and piety for holy orders, that so they might one day return again to their own country, to assist the souls of their neighbours in those evil days. The counsel which he gave to others, he not long after followed himself ; and repairing to the aforesaid college, he passed through his divinity studies, was made priest, and sent upon the English mission in 1606. His residence was in London ; and his labours were chiefly dedicated to the poorer sort of catholics there ; whom he served with such extraordinary diligence and zeal, as to be commonly known by the name of the pastor or parish priest of London. *Parochus Londinensis*. T. W. p. 51.

After sometime he fell into the hands of the priest-catchers, and was committed to prison, and from prison was, with twenty others of the

same character, by virtue of an order from the council, shipped off, and sent into banishment. He landed at Bologne, and from thence went and paid a visit to his old mother college, where he met with a kind welcome, and was invited to take up his habitation there, the office of procurator of the house being offered him by Dr. Worthington, then president. But his heart was with his flock, from which he had been violently separated; and no apprehension of dangers, to which his return must needs expose him, (being so well known as he was) could make any impression on a soul that was all on fire with heavenly charity, and which looked upon death in such a cause as the greatest happiness.

To England therefore he returned, and there reassumed his accustomed labours, in the same field as formerly, but was not long after again apprehended, and quickly brought to his trial; where he was convicted of having received holy orders in the church of Rome, and having exercised his priestly functions in England; and for this supposed treason, (no other being so much as objected to him) he was condemned to die the death of traitors. When the bloody sentence was pronounced against him, it drew tears from the eyes of many; and caused pity and compassion in most of the standers-by: but as for his own part, he heard it with such a remarkable calmness and composedness in his looks, as affected the whole court with wonder and astonishment.

A few days after, he was drawn to Tyburn in the company of Mr. Roberts; where, as we have seen already, they both made a glorious confession of their faith, in the sight of an infinite number of people, and poured forth their blood in defence of it, December 10, 1610.

Molanus in his appendix to his *Idea togatæ Constantiæ*, published in 1629, sets down Mr. Somers's banishment in 1610, and gives him for companions, Messieurs Richard Newport, Philip Woodward, Thomas Leak, Cathbert Johnson, Oswald Needham, N. Green, John Prat, John Lockwood, John Ainsworth, Robert Chamberlane, Edward Milington, Gilbert Hunt, N. Sadler and N. Hutton, O. S. B. Thomas Priest and Mich. Walpole, S. J. &c. He adds, that Oswald Needham was afterwards crowned with martyrdom: but this particular is not confirmed by any other writer: and that John Lockwood and Gilbert Hunt were also afterwards condemned to die.

This year 1610, Mr. Lewis Barlow, the first missionary from the seminaries, departed this life in a good old age. He came to Douay in 1570, was made priest and sent upon the mission in 1574; was divers times apprehended and imprisoned, and was sent into banishment in 1603; but returned again to his labours, and died this year in England. *Douay Diary*.

The year 1611 passed without the shedding of any catholic blood on religious accounts: not so the following year, in which I find three priests and one layman put to death upon the penal-statutes.

150. * *William Scot, Priest, O. S. B.—1612.*

WILLIAM Scot, who in religion was called F. Maurus, was a gen-

* From B. W.'s manuscript concerning the English benedictin congregation; and from a relation of his trial, by an eye-witness.

tleman by birth ; and bred up to the study of the civil law in Trinity Hall in the University of Cambridge. He was converted by reading catholic books, and went beyond the seas ; where he was for some time alumnus of one of the Spanish seminaries, I believe, of that of Valladolid, and from thence entered into the order of St. Benedict ; being one of the first of the English that entered himself amongst the Spanish monks of the congregation of Valladolid. He was professed in the famous abbey of St. Facundus in the town of Sahagun ; and having received the holy order of priesthood, returned into England to labour there in the vineyard of his Lord.

For a welcome at his first arrival at London, he beheld the priest, by whom he had formerly been taken into the church, hurried away to death for his faith and character ; and he himself within three days after was apprehended and cast into prison for the like cause. He was kept in confinement for about a twelvemonth, and then transported into banishment : and this happened to him more than once ; for a certain cotemporary author informs us, that he was several times imprisoned, and several times banished. “ *Post crebros carceres & exilia. Apostolatus Bened. 247.*” In his last banishment he went to Douay, and lived there for some time amongst his brethren in their monastery of that town. But he returned again to his Master’s work, and quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors. His chief adversary, who caused him to be prosecuted and condemned, was George Abbot, who from being bishop of London was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Mr. Scot upon his apprehension was brought before this protestant prelate to be examined ; he refused the new oath of allegiance, but neither confessed nor denied his priesthood : the chief proof that was brought for his being a priest, was, that as he came by water from Gravesend to London, upon some danger of being discovered, he flung into the Thames a little bag, where were his breviary and faculties, with some medals and crosses ; which bag a fisherman catching in his net, had carried to the said George Abbot.

The following account of his trial and death was written by an eye-witness, whose manuscript relation is preserved by the English benedictins, in their monastery of Douay, who favoured me with a copy of it.

On Monday the 25th of May, Mr. Scot was removed from the Gate-house to Newgate, in order to take his trial in the sessions which were to begin at the Old Baily the following Thursday. Whilst he was here preparing himself for his last conflict, his conversation gave great edification to his fellow prisoners ; but it was particularly taken notice of, that he seemed much mortified, when any one would be saying, that it was not likely the court would proceed at that time to the execution of any priest. On Thursday morning, when he understood by the jailor, that the bishop of London, “ King ” would be at the sessions-house, to attend his trial, at three o’clock that afternoon ; he began to take heart, and to prepare himself for that hour. At which time he and his companion Mr. Newport were conducted to the Old Baily ; where were sitting the lord mayor, the bishop of London, the lord chief justice Cook, the lord chief justice of the common-pleas,

the recorder of London, with many other justices. Here Mr. Scot's indictment was read; which, he said, contained falsehood, and therefore he pleaded not guilty. They urged him to say directly, whether he was a priest or no: but this he would neither confess, nor deny; saying, that it was the business of his accusers to make it out that he was a priest. They would needs infer from hence that he certainly was a priest; and lord chief justice Cook urged, that in cases of præmunire it was judged sufficient to find any man guilty, if he neither owned nor denied the fact. Mr. Scot replied, that however it might be in cases of præmunire, it was certain that in cases of life and death they were to proceed only according to what had been legally made out by witnesses.

It was then objected, that he had been sent into banishment as a priest, and that by his accepting of this banishment with the rest, he had sufficiently owned himself a priest. He answered, that he had never accepted of any banishment: that he had been released indeed with others, at the request of the ambassador of Savoy; but when he obtained this liberty, which he had never petitioned for, he neither owned himself a priest, nor ever promised himself, or any other for him, to his knowledge, that he would not return again into England. And whereas the bishop of London was very active in this cause, Mr. Scot told him, it did not become his lordship, or any one of his cloth, to meddle in causes of life and death. But this did not silence the protestant prelate, who amongst other things urged against the prisoner, that in the bag mentioned above, was found a paper giving leave to say mass above or below ground, &c. *Giving leave!* said Mr Scot, *but to whom? was my name there expressed? If not, your lordship might have kept that argument to yourself, with the rest of the things in the bag.*

The bishop still urged him to answer, if he was a priest, or no. My Lord, said he, are you a priest? No, said the prelate. No priest, no bishop, said Mr. Scot. I am a priest, said the bishop, but not a massing priest. If you are a priest, said Mr. Scot, you are a sacrificing priest, for sacrificing is essential to priesthood; and if you are a sacrificing priest, you are a massing priest. "For what other sacrifice have the priests of the new law, as distinct from mere laicks, to offer to God, but that of the eucharist, which we call the mass?" If then you are no massing priest, you are no sacrificing priest; if no sacrificing priest, no priest at all, and consequently no bishop.

But as Mr. Scot perceived the judges were resolved to proceed upon bare presumptions to direct the jury to bring him in guilty; he told them, he was sorry to see his cause was to be committed to the verdict of those poor ignorant men, who knew not what a priest was, nor whether he was a man or a mouse. Then turning himself to the jury, he said, it grieved him much that his blood was to fall upon their heads; but withal bid them consider, for the securing their own consciences, that nothing had been alledged against him but mere presumptions; and as he was not to be his own accuser, they were to proceed according to what had been legally proved, and not upon presumptions. The jury withdrew, but quickly returned again, and gave in their verdict by the mouth of the foreman *guilty*: which word Mr

Scot had no sooner heard, but he fell upon his knees, and said with a loud voice, *thanks be to God*: adding, that never any news was more welcome to him; and that there was nothing that he had ever wished for more in his life, than the happiness of dying for so good a cause. Then turning himself to the people he said, 'I have not as yet confessed myself a priest, that the law might go on in its course; and that it might appear whether they would proceed to condemn me upon mere presumption and conjectures without any witness, which you see they have done. Wherefore, to the glory of God, and of all the saints in heaven, I now confess I am a monk of the order of St. Bennet, and a priest of the Roman catholic church. But be you all witnesses, I pray you, that I have committed no crime against his majesty, or my country; I am only accused of priesthood, and for priesthood alone I am condemned.'

Mr. Newport, a man of great zeal and fervour, who had twice before been imprisoned, and sent into banishment, and through the desire of martyrdom had returned a third time upon the mission, and had been a third time apprehended; after seven months' imprisonment (during which he had prepared himself, as he had done for many years before for the conflict for which God had designed him) was brought to the session-house with Father Scot, but for want of time was not tried that afternoon, but sent back to prison: to which Mr. Scot returned with as much calmness and unconcernedness in his looks, as if nothing had been done that day against him. The next morning, being Friday, Mr. Newport alone was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himself to be a priest, and that he had been twice banished, &c. but denied the indictment, not owning himself guilty of any treason against his king or country. The recorder told him, it was high treason for a priest ordained beyond the seas to return into England. Mr. Newport answered, whatever it might be by the law of England, it could be no treason by the law of God: that their new laws were made according to their new religion, and could not be of any force against the law of God, and that authority which Jesus Christ himself had given to priests, in those words, *go teach all nations*, &c. And as it could be no treason to be a priest, so he could not comprehend how he could be a traitor for returning into his own country, having been always both at home and abroad a faithful subject to his majesty. He added, that by the laws which they had lately made against priests, they might condemn Christ himself if he were upon earth, because he was a priest. The recorder told him, that priests were the first men that had plotted against his present majesty. No, no, said Mr. Newport, but protestants and puritans were the men that plotted against him, and sought to rob him of his life, whilst he was yet in his mother's womb. These and other such like words, says my author, who was present at his trial, he spoke with wonderful constancy and fortitude. He seemed very unwilling his blood should lie at the door of the poor ignorant jury; but was obliged to acquiesce to the custom of the law. The twelve brought him in *guilty*; which verdict he received with great courage and cheerfulness. The bishop of London was present at his trial, but said nothing; for he had gained but little credit, even amongst protestants, by what he had said the day before at the trial of Father Scot.

Friday in the afternoon the two confessors of Christ were again brought to the bar ; and being asked what they had to say for themselves, why the sentence of death should not pass upon them ; they replied, that they could not be justly condemned, either for being priests, or for returning into England, for neither the one nor the other could possibly be criminal ; as nothing else could be objected against them. The recorder would not suffer them to proceed ; but taking occasion from that constancy and alacrity, which appeared in their countenance (by which, as well as by their courageous answers, the people was much edified) to reproach them, as if they had not behaved with that modesty as other priests had done before them, hoping thereby to disgrace them with the standers-by, who had very much applauded them, he pronounced separately the sentence of condemnation against them in the usual form. After which, their hands being tied, they were sent back to prison ; where they remained that night full of joy at their approaching happiness, and giving great comfort and edification to their fellow prisoners.

The next morning, being the 30th of May, at six of the clock, they were brought out to the hurdle. And first Mr. Newport was appointed for the right-hand side, who laid himself down with a smiling countenance, and lifting up his hands, which were tied, in the best manner he could gave his benediction to the people. Then father Scot, who had come down in his religious habit, with a design to have wore it at his execution, but was ordered to put it off again, advanced to the hurdle ; and standing over it declared to the people, ‘ that he was a faithful subject of his majesty, and daily prayed for him ; and that he begged of God, to turn away his stripes and punishments from this island ; that he wished as well to the king as to his own soul ; and had never harboured so much as one evil thought against him : and that if by his death he could do any service to the soul or body of his sovereign, he should be no less willing to die for his service, than he was now to lay down his life for God’s honour, and the testimony of the truth.’

After this speech, at which my author says he was present, Mr. Scot was pinioned down upon the hurdle, and so drawn to Tyburn with his companion, and there executed according to sentence, May 30, being Whitsun Eve, 1612.

151. * *Richard Newport, alias Smith, Priest.*

HE was born in Northamptonshire : and performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Rhemes (if he be the Richard Smith whom I find in the Douay diary sent to Rome in 1586) and partly in that of Rome, where he was made priest. From thence he was sent upon the English mission, and behaved himself in such a manner as justly to acquire the character of a laborious missionary ; being withal remarkably successful in bringing home many strayed sheep to the fold of Christ, to which his apostolical way of living did not a little contribute. He was

* From Dr. Worthington’s catalogue, p. 52.

several times apprehended and cast into prison, and twice banished. His name occurs amongst those who were transported in 1606; at which time, we are told, he took that opportunity of making a pilgrimage to Rome, there to pour forth his prayers at the tombs of the apostles, in behalf of this afflicted church, and to obtain of God, by their intercession, grace and constancy for himself to fulfil his ministry amidst so many difficulties and dangers, as he expected to meet with upon his return to England.

It is true, he had been strictly charged by the council not to come back into any of the British dominions at his utmost peril: but then he had learnt from the examples of the apostles, that in things relating to the functions of his ministry, he was to hearken to God rather than man. To England therefore he returned: and though he was apprehended again, and banished a second time, he again came back at the first favourable opportunity.

Being apprehended for the third time, the persecutors were now resolved to make sure work with him, and effectually silence him for ever. To this end they brought him upon his trial, on an indictment of high treason, for being a priest, and returning into England contrary to the statute. We have already seen his behaviour at the bar; and how by his jury he was found guilty of the indictment, and in consequence of this supposed guilt, was condemned to die the ignominious death of traitors. Which he suffered with constancy and courage, in the company of Mr. Scot, May 30, 1612.

152 * *John Almond, Priest.*

JOHN Almond, who in his examination before the bishop of London calls himself Francis Lathome, and who was known upon the mission by the name of Molineux, was born on the skirts of Allerton near Liverpool, in Lancashire, and brought up at school at Much-Wooton in the same county: from hence he passed over into Ireland, and so abroad into the world. He must have left home when he was about 15 or 16 years old, if he be the Almond whom I find in the Douay diary sent from Rhemes to Rome in 1582: but then he must have been more than ten years abroad, which is the time that my old manuscript affirms he employed beyond the seas to improve himself in virtue and learning. Certain it is, that he was at least 45 years old when he suffered; though his grey hairs seemed to speak him older; and that he did not return to England till 1602; at which time I find in the register of Douay, that John Almond, priest, coming from Rome visited the college of Douay in his way to England. T. W. also in his catalogue informs us, that he was a priest of Rome; and there publicly sustained *Theses* of universal divinity with great applause in 1601. I have met with little or nothing of the particulars of his missionary labours, only my author "the manuscript" gives him the following character, in his introduction to the account of his death. 'Upon Saturday being the 5th of Decem-

* From a copy of his examination before Dr. King, bishop of London, written by himself; and from an old manuscript by an eye-witness of his death, amongst the collections of the Rev. Mr. Knaresborough.

ber, 1612, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, came to suffer at Tyburn for the catholic religion John Almond, a man of the age of forty-five, by his own relation; yet in his countenance more grave and staid, beginning to be besprinkled with hairs that were white—who having tarried beyond the seas about ten years to enable himself by his study with learning and virtue, returned into his native country, where he exercised an holy life with all sincerity, and a singular good content to those that knew him, and worthily deserved both a good opinion of his learning and sanctity of life; a reprovcr of sin, a good example to follow; of an ingenious and acute understanding, sharp and apprehensive in his conceits and answers, yet compleat with modesty. Full of courage, and ready to suffer for Christ, that suffered for him. Of his stature, neither high nor low, but indifferent; a body lean, either by nature or through ghostly discipline; a face lean, his head blackish brown; in his conversation mild, learned and persuasive, and worthy to be remembered of those that did converse with him. As I said, not only a sharp reprovcr of sin, but a good encourager besides, by his own example, of those that sought the way to heaven, which he himself found at the last by persecutions, crosses, and many afflictions.' So far the manuscript.

Mr. Almond was apprehended on the 22d of March, 1611-12, and brought before Dr. John King, lately advanced to the bishopric of London. What passed in his examination here, was penned by himself, of which I shall here set down an abstract.

'Bishop. What is your name? Almond. My name is Francis. B. What else? A. Lathome. B. Is not your name Molineux? A. No. B. I think I shall prove it to be so. A. You will have more to do, than ever you had to do in your life. B. What countryman are you? A. A Lancashire man. B. In what place were you born? A. About Allerton. B. About Allerton! mark the equivocation; then not in Allerton. A. No equivocation, I was not born in Allerton, but in the edge or side of Allerton. B. You were born under a hedge then, were you? A. Many a better man, than I or you either, has been born under a hedge. B. What, you cannot remember that you was born in a house? A. Can you? B. My mother told me so. A. Then you remember not that you were born in a house, but only that your mother told you so; so much I remember too.

'B. Were you ever beyond the seas? A. I have been in Ireland. How long since you came thence? A. I remember not how long since, neither is it material. B. Here is plain answering, is it not? A. More plain than you would give, if you were examined yourself before some of ours in another place. B. I ask, are you a priest? A. I am not Christ; and unless I were Christ, in your own grounds, yours I mean, I cannot be a priest. B. Though you cannot be one in our grounds, are you one in your own? A. if I be none, nor can be any in your grounds, which allow no other priesthood, nor other priest but Christ, and you are bound to maintain your own grounds, and uphold the truth of them, you might well forbear this question, and suppose for certain that I am no priest. B. Are you a priest, yea or no? A. No man accuseth me. B. Then this is all the

‘ answer I shall have. *A.* All I can give unless proof come in. *B.*
 ‘ Where have you lived, and in what have you spent your time? *A.*
 ‘ Here is an orderly course of justice sure! What is it material where
 ‘ I have lived, or how I have spent my time, all the while I am ac-
 ‘ cused of no evil?

‘ *Bish.* Will you take the oath of allegiance? *Alm.* Any oath of
 ‘ allegiance, if it contain nothing but allegiance. And with that the
 ‘ bishop reaches out his arm for the oath, lying towards the middle of
 ‘ the table; which I perceiving said, that oath you cannot with a
 ‘ good conscience offer. *B.* Yes, that I can; and I thank God, I have
 ‘ taken it myself seven times. *A.* God forbid! *B.* Why? *A.* You have been
 ‘ seven times perjured. *B.* Wherein? *A.* In taking this false clause, *And*
 ‘ *I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as*
 ‘ *impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that prin-*
 ‘ *ces excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed, &c.*
 ‘ *B.* There is no perjury nor falsehood in it. *A.* If in taking it you
 ‘ abjure that position as heretical which is not heretical, then is it
 ‘ perjury and falsehood to take it. But in taking it you abjure that
 ‘ position as heretical which is not heretical, *ergo*, &c. *B.* I grant
 ‘ your *major*, I deny your *minor*. *A.* No position in your grounds can
 ‘ be heretical, unless it be expressly censured for heretical by the
 ‘ word of God, or the contradictory expressly contained in the word
 ‘ of God. But this position is not expressly censured for heretical
 ‘ by the word of God; nor is the contradictory expressly con-
 ‘ tained in the word of God. *Ergo*, it is not heretical. *B.* It is
 ‘ censured as heretical by the word. *A.* Alledge the text, give us a
 ‘ bible. *B.* Bring in a bible. Then turning it with an evil will, he
 ‘ said it was censured in the 13th of the Romans. *A.* You mean those
 ‘ words, *He that resisteth power, resisteth God’s ordinance.* But I ask,
 ‘ where is this position censured? There is not one word of the
 ‘ position in hand. Other place he alledged none. *B.* You would
 ‘ have it censured in express words? *A.* You are bound to
 ‘ bring a censure in express words: which, because I see you cannot,
 ‘ answer this consequence: *This position is not set down at all in the*
 ‘ *bible: Ergo, it cannot be censured by the bible.* He answered not;
 ‘ but said, I was a proud arrogant jack. To which I replied, God
 ‘ forgive you, your words trouble me not: and so two several times
 ‘ more I prayed God to forgive him, when he miscalled me and abused
 ‘ me in words.

‘ Then leaving the oath, which he was weary of, he asked, Have
 ‘ you gone to the church? And added, I forgot it before; but I go
 ‘ beyond you now. *A.* I have not gone to the church? *B.* Will you
 ‘ go? *A.* I will not: Is not this plain dealing? *B.* Now you deal
 ‘ plainly. *A.* If it would not offend you, I must tell you, that you
 ‘ went beyond yourself: for you confessed even now that you should
 ‘ have asked it before, and so go beyond yourself in asking it now.
 ‘ Much more passed betwixt us before about a disjunctive position,
 ‘ wherein the bishop needeth not to boast of his logic: at part of
 ‘ which a certain dean coming in, after the bishop was weary, the
 ‘ dean began to talk of the pope’s power to depose kings, saying, It

‘ was essential to the pope, and a matter of faith in our doctrine. To
 ‘ whom I replied, It was not essential to the pope’s power, nor any
 ‘ matter of faith: and that whether the pope could or could not de-
 ‘ pose, it was perjury to take the oath in their grounds, and ours too:
 ‘ which, I said, I would undertake to demonstrate before all the
 ‘ bishops in England, or else I would lose my hand and my head. The
 ‘ dean said, I was too quick with him; and that my logic would de-
 ‘ ceive me, if I builded so much upon it; wishing me to look to a
 ‘ good conscience. I replied, It was my conscience which I did
 ‘ stand upon, and therefore refused the oath for the reasons alledged.
 ‘ Yet to give satisfaction, this oath I offered that I would swear. *I*
 ‘ *do bear in my heart and soul so much allegiance to king James* (whom
 ‘ I prayed God to bless now and evermore) *as he, or any christian*
 ‘ *king could expect by the law of nature, the law of God, or the positive*
 ‘ *law of the true church*, be it which it will, *ours or yours*. The bishop
 ‘ and the dean said they were fair words: but the dean added, he
 ‘ knew well which church I meant: to which I answered, Let you
 ‘ and me try that, and then put it out of question: but he was deaf on
 ‘ that ear.

‘ Then the bishop bad me put my hand to my examination. I
 ‘ first perused it; and in the end of it, where the register had set
 ‘ down, Being asked whether he would take the oath of allegiance;
 ‘ he answered, he could not without perjury: I bid him add also, as
 ‘ I had said, I could not in their grounds nor ours: the bishop would
 ‘ not suffer him to add that, but said I should have another time; upon
 ‘ that, I put my hand to it, though I said he had put it in by halves.
 ‘ Thus ended the pageant, saving that I said publicly (giving the ho-
 ‘ nour to God) that I had not sworn any oath, not so much as in faith,
 ‘ in 16 years before; and therefore they needed not wonder that I now
 ‘ refused an oath with falsehood and perjury in it.’

After this examination he was committed to Newgate, from whence after some months he was brought to his trial, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders beyond the seas, by authority of the see of Rome, and for remaining in this kingdom contrary to the laws. At his trial, he shewed, it seems, the same vivacity of wit and resolution, as he had done in his examination; but was brought in *guilty* by his jury, though he neither confessed nor yet denied his being a priest; and what proofs were brought of his being such, does not appear.

The day appointed for his execution was the 5th of December 1612, when being brought out of Newgate between 7 and 8 o’clock in the morning, he stept with a smiling countenance into the sledge prepared for him, and so was drawn to Tyburn. When he arrived there, being taken off the sledge, and having his hands untied, he put off his hat, and blessed God with a loud voice, that he had held him worthy, and had brought him to that place to die for his name and glory. — Then asking what he was to do, the sheriff told him that he must get up into the cart that stood under the tree, where he must die. Which he did, though not without much difficulty, the cart being high, and his legs weak and stiff, with his ill and cold lodging for ten

days before. Being up, he chearfully said, I am now, I thank God, up: and kneeling down, he first blessed himself with the sign of the cross, in token that he was not ashamed of Christ, who was crucified thereon for his redemption; then prayed a little to himself; afterwards rising up he mildly asked the sheriff, whether it would please him to permit him to speak to the people; who very courteously told him, he might. He having leave to speak, kneeled down and said, *Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.* And then protesting that he would speak nothing derogating to the power of his sacred majesty, or injurious to any person whatsoever; he proceeded and told the people that he was a catholic, and came thither to die for the catholic religion, and for Christ's cause, who had shed his blood for him and his redemption. That he was glad and willing to lose his life for his honour, and sorry he had no more lives to lose, nor more blood to shed for the cause of his blessed Redeemer. That he did acknowledge from the bottom of his heart, that his majesty king James the first was true and lawful king of these realms; and had the same power and authority over his dominions, and his subjects therein born, which the king of Spain, or the king of France had in theirs: that he himself was his true subject, and had never harboured so much as any treasonable thought against him, which he did protest freely and sincerely before God and the whole host of heaven. Moreover, that if he had known of any treasonable design against the king or state, any way whatsoever, he should think himself obliged to have put a stop to it, to the utmost of his power. Then he earnestly prayed to God for the king and all the royal family, and that his posterity might inherit the crown of England for ever. Adding again, that he acknowledged his authority for making laws, and that his subjects were bound to obey them.

But here he was interrupted by a minister, who asked him, How then he, being a priest, offered to come into the kingdom against those laws? Mr. Almond answered, that Christ was the greater king, and that laws made against Christ's laws were not binding: and that in case he were a priest, which they had not proved him to be, he had a commission derived from Christ, (who sent his disciples, St. Matthew xxviii. 19, to teach all nations) to come and teach in England; as he supposed protestants, if their religion were true, might be sent into Turkey, India, or elsewhere, for saving of souls, notwithstanding the laws of those countries might make it death so to do. The minister farther objected, that he had at his arraignment delivered dangerous doctrines, as that a priest had power to absolve and forgive any man that should kill a king; and that he had treated the bench with disrespect. He answered, that the minister did mistake him, and belied the catholic doctrine; and that he had dealt modestly at his arraignment, which he referred to the standers by: and for matters of murdering kings, he declared murder to be a heinous crime, and of a king most of all; and that the doctrine of the catholic church, no ways encouraged any of her children to commit any sin whatsoever, much less murder or treason; but on the contrary teaches them humility, patience, long-suffering and obedience. And yet the greatest sinner that ever was, even a king-killer, than which

he thought none could be worse; through true contrition, confessing himself with hearty repentance to his ghostly father, and ready to make satisfaction according to his power and the rules of the catholic church, might be forgiven through the merits of Christ's bitter passion, one drop of whose precious blood was sufficient to have saved ten thousand worlds, how much more one sinner, though never so vile. And that Christ himself had declared as much St. John xx. 27, and given this power to his church, and the true ministers of the sacraments thereof, that *whose sins soever they did remit should be remitted, &c.* And that this was his doctrine and meaning; and there was his warrant. And then he pressed the minister to tell him if this was not the protestant doctrine also? who could not deny but it was, if the sinner had faith: but then he asked what satisfaction could be made for the death of a king. Mr. Almond replied, that faith was not sufficient, except it was applied right; for the devils believed and trembled, and yet could not be saved: and that Christ's death had made satisfaction. The minister pressing farther with an argument concerning faith and satisfaction, Mr. Almond denied the consequence; but withal desired that he might now be allowed to pray. When another minister interrupting him, asked if he had not equivocated in his former answers and protestations of loyalty. Mr. Almond protested upon his soul, no, as he should answer before God; nor had spoken with any mental reservation; and that the only reason why he had refused the oath of allegiance, as they called it, was out of tenderness of conscience, by reason of the ensnaring clauses contained therein: protesting withal, that if the pope, or any foreign prince whatsoever, should by war and hostility invade this his native country, and thereby seek to overthrow the state, or make a conquest of the kingdom, or divest his majesty of any of his dominions, he ought to be resisted by every good subject, to the best of his power, and that by force and arms; and that this was the catholic doctrine and religion, which was to be brought in by preaching and miracles, after the example of Christ and his apostles; and not by blood and force of arms: that this he had ever professed and taught, and this he was ready to seal with his blood.

Then being almost unstripped, having nothing on but his waistcoat and breeches, the halter having been long about his neck, he kneeled down and began to pray, by giving thanks to God, who had strengthened him by his grace, and brought him thither to shed his blood for the catholic religion, which he most firmly believed to every tittle without the least doubt or wavering. And here again he was interrupted by a minister that stood near, who told him he had forgot to ask forgiveness of his sins. Mr. Almond replied, he did not do well to interrupt him, that he could not do all at once, and yet he could do that without the minister's counsel. Then rising up he pulled several things out of his pockets, which he flung away, looking round about in the disposing of them as his affection guided him. He also flung away some three or four pounds in silver, amongst the poor that crowded about the gallows; saying, 'I have not much to bestow or give, for the keeper of Newgate hath been somewhat hard unto me and others that way, whom God forgive, for I do. For I having

‘ been prisoner there since March, we have been ill-treated continually, but now at last without charity ; for we were all put down into the hole or dungeon, or place of *little ease*, whence was removed since we came thither two or three cart loads of filth and dirt ; we were kept twenty-four hours without bread, or meat or drink, loaded with irons, lodging on the damp ground, and so continued for ten days or thereabouts.’ Here Mr. Sheriff told him, that the keeper had done nothing but by orders, and was commanded to do what he had done. I had thought, said Mr. Almond, it had been done of his own head ; but since it was done by power, I will neither resist it, nor speak farther of it. Then turning to the executioner he gave him a piece of gold of eleven shillings : adding, ‘ I don’t give thee this to spare me, for I am ready, as my duty doth bind me, to lose both life and blood, and therefore he might, if he would, rip him up alive, and cut off his hands, for that no torment was sufficient to satisfy his obedience to his redeemer ; wishing he had the heart of St. Vincent, or the body of St. Laurence to be broiled upon a gridiron ; for he was ready to suffer all, even to be pulled in pieces joint by joint without any favour, so much he hoped God would strengthen him with his power ; and that all that blood which he had to shed for his master Christ was too little, and not enough.’ And then kneeling down again, he humbly acknowledged himself to be a sinner, and earnestly begged God’s mercy and forgiveness ; not doubting but that what sins soever he had committed, which he confessed were many, Christ by his mercy, his death, and the shedding of his blood, would remit and pardon ; and that he would now accept his willingness to shed his blood for his glory. Of which words a minister presently taking hold, asked Mr. Almond, What ! do you match and compare then your blood-shedding with Christ’s blood-shedding ; as if Christ were not able to work your salvation, without your own means ; ‘ You mistake me, quoth Mr. Almond ; my sins, though venial, deserve Christ’s wrath and punishment. It is his death alone, and the shedding of his blood alone, that is not only *sufficient*, but also *efficient* to save us all. I have not much more to say, one hour overtaketh another, and though never so long, at last cometh death ; and yet not death, for death is the gate of life unto us, whereby we enter into everlasting blessedness ; and life is death to those that do not provide for death, for they are ever tossed and troubled with vexations, miseries, and wickedness ; but to use well this life is the path-way, yet through death, to everlasting life.

Then being in his shirt he kneeled down, and often repeating, *In manus tuas Domine, &c. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit : thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth :* he waited whilst the hangman prepared for the execution, at no time shewing either any sign of fear or faintheartedness through all the course of his martyrdom ; but as he began smiling, so he continued constant with a cheerful countenance, instantly desiring all the true professors of the true catholic religion to pray for him and with him : and he often repeated upon his knees, looking up towards heaven, *In manus tuas, &c.* and so with a sure hope having commended himself to God, he protested he died a chaste maid, which he did acknowledge was Christ’s special grace, and not his own ability or worthiness, and that

he ever hated all carnal acts, and such sins for which the catholic religion or profession had been slandered; for which grace he rendered thanks to God. Then, 'I have been, saith he, indicted and accused that I was a priest, but I will neither confess nor deny the same; but at the last day, when all secrets are revealed, and Christ shall come in glory to judge the world, to whom I hope I am now going, he will then reveal what I am.' Then being ready to die, having stood long in his shirt, the weather being cold, and the morning frosty, yet shewed he no shivering, nor once to quake, but most readily yielded his hands to be tied by the executioner: and the cart being ready to be drawn away, he asked if it were not good, or the fashion to have a handkerchief over his eyes? The people cried, yes: one offering a foul one, which was refused, Mr. Almond said it was no matter: then a stander by gave him a clean one, and tied it over his face, which still looked chearful. Then he desired the executioner to give him a sign when the cart was to be drawn away, 'that he might die with the name of his blessed Saviour Jesus, that sweet name of comfort in his mouth.' He often repeated these words, *In manus tuas Domine*, &c. and the sign being given, he cried *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu*; and then hanging for about the space of three *Pater-nosters*, some of the standers by pulling him by his legs to dispatch his life; he was cut down and quartered, his soul flying swiftly to him that redeemed us all, for whose quarrel he protested he died. So far the MS. written by an eye-witness.

As for Dr. King, bishop of London, who is supposed to have been the principal promoter of Mr. Almond's death; instead of reaping any joy from the execution of this good priest, he is said to have been ever after a man of sorrows. And if we may believe what is confidently asserted by the catholic writers of those times, he was before his death favoured by a grace seldom granted to persecutors, to become himself a catholic, and to die in the communion of that church, which he had cruelly persecuted. In the preface of a book published in his name after his death, and called, *The bishop of London's Legacy*: he is introduced thus addressing himself to our martyr. 'O happy Almond, who here upon earth didst mask thyself under the name of Molineux! in thy blood, even in thy blood did I wash my hands: it was I that did further thy death. Be thou, O blessed saint, who now seest and hearest me, (*Quid non videt, qui videntem omnia videt?*) What does he not see, who sees him that sees all things?) be thou, I say, out of thy seraphical charity, as propitious to pray for the remitting of that crying sin, as I am ready to acknowledge the sin: and let thy blood (guilty of no other treason than in not being a traitor to Christ and his church) not resemble the blood of Abel, which cried for revenge against his brother, but rather the blood of Christ, which prayed for pardon of his crucifiers.' Epistle to the reader, p. 10, 11.—Mr. Almond suffered at Tyburn, December the 5th, 1612, in the 45th year of his age, the 11th of his mission.

153. John Marson, Layman.

I Find this name in the list of those that suffered this year for the catholic religion: but with little or no particulars. He was apprehended

whilst he was actually hearing mass : but as this is not capital, by our laws, he must have suffered on some other charge. Whether it was for being reconciled to the Roman catholic church ; or for assisting priests ; or for being instrumental in the conversion of others, &c. my short memoirs do not inform me : only that he suffered at Tyburn, upon the penal statutes then in force against the English catholics.

This year 1612, according to B. W. in his manuscript concerning the English benedictin congregation, Thomas Hill, D. D. who from a seminary priest, educated in the colleges of Rhemes and Rome, became a monk of the said congregation, was condemned to die for his priestly character ; but was not executed. He died afterwards at Douay in 1644, in the 84th year of his age, the 53d of his priesthood, and the 33d of his religious profession. He was the author of a little book of motives to the catholic religion, entitled, *A Quartron of Reasons*, &c. which archbishop Abbot undertook to answer.

During the three following years 1613, 1614, and 1615, though the catholics were still great sufferers, on account of their recusancy, by heavy fines, close imprisonments, &c. yet I find none put to death for their religion. In the latter end of 1615, I find in the Douay diary Mr. Smith, Mr. Blount, and Mr. Brown, priests, sent into banishment from Wisbich castle, and in the same year father Robert Edmonds, O. S. B. died a prisoner for his faith, in the Gatehouse. But in the year 1616, the sword of persecution was again unsheathed, and no less than four priests and one layman were put to death upon the penal statutes.

154. * *Thomas Atkinson, Priest.—1616.*

THOMAS Atkinson was born in the East-Riding of Yorkshire, and educated in Douay college, during its residence at Rhemes, where he was ordained priest, as appears by the college diary, in 1588, and sent the same year upon the English mission. His missionary labours were employed in his native country, where for near 30 years he faithfully and zealously discharged every part of the duty of an apostolick pastor. ‘ In recalling many, says my author, to the catholic faith ; in diligently visiting his flock, which was numerous, and spread in many distant places, to confirm them with the sacraments, to encourage them, and push them forward to the practice of virtue, and to arm them against the deceits and fury of their adversaries ; travelling always on foot ; frequently passing whole nights without sleep, either employed in the functions of his ministry, or in his journeys ; for by serving the same parts of the country for so many years, he was become so well known to the hereticks, that he could not safely travel by day. Till at length it pleased the divine Majesty

* From a letter sent over to Douay by a missionary priest in 1616, giving an account of the death of Mr. Atkinson, and the others that suffered that year, published the following year at Douay, under the title of *Exemplar Litterarum*, &c. page 43. Item from two manuscripts in my hands.

‘to reward these labours of his servant, and his tears, which he continually shed in prayer, and his most holy life by a glorious and triumphant death.’

Of Mr. Atkinson and his labours, thus also writes the lady Bathorpe his cotemporary, in a manuscript which I have before me. ‘There was a good priest, one Mr. Atkinson in our country, who lived long in doing great service to God; taking great pains in serving the poor, who without such pains could not have had those helps and comforts that they stood in need of in that time. For divers years he travelled afoot, enduring all weathers; and many times when he had a weary and wet day, the houses, to which he went, could not receive him in; but he was obliged to stay in some out-house or corner, being both wet and cold, and even in the time of frost and snow, so long, till the owners of the houses could receive him in with safety. This he used so long, that in a great frost he got a fall and broke his leg; in the cure of which he suffered much, lighting on a bad surgeon. Yet after his recovery he used his former charity and pains; but not being able to travel much on foot, he had a horse to help him. In this man God shewed wonderful things at his taking and imprisonment.—One was, that his irons fell off his legs, when the keeper had fastened them on; which being reported to the lord Sheffield, who was the president of the North, he sent to the keeper to know if it were true, who confessed the truth. Another charity the good man used was, when he came to poor folks houses, he would not let them be at any charge, but both found himself meat and them; and gave them money too: so what he received from those that were able he bestowed on the poor.’

His apprehension and death is thus briefly related in a manuscript sent me from St. Omer’s, written the same year that he suffered, and agreeing perfectly with the printed account published at Douay.

‘A venerable priest, called Mr. Atkinson, a man of 70 years of age, or more, who had laboured in this vineyard above 30 (rather 28) years, in the province of York, going always on foot, and for the most part by night, from one catholic house to another, to help, confess, and administer the holy sacraments; in this present year of our Lord 1616, coming to the house of a catholic gentleman “Mr. Vavasour of Willitof” was espied by a heretic, and suspected to be a priest; who maliciously advertised some officers of it: and they coming with all speed, met the said priest coming from the catholic house, and apprehended him; carrying him with the gentleman, his wife and children, guarded with armed men to the city of York. Where “it being the time of the assizes” he was brought before the president and the judges there present. They examined him, Whether he was a priest or no? Which the holy old man would not acknowledge for fear of endangering the goods and lives of the gentleman, and his wife and children “who had harboured him;” yet would not directly deny, because he would not say any thing, that might have any colour or appearance of untruth. Yet the judges, having no other proof or witness, condemned him to death, and gave sentence on him as a traitor,

‘ They found about him at his apprehension a pair of beads, some blessed grains, with a copy of indulgences granted by his holiness: which they there read publicly to the people, laughing and scoffing at them, and saying a thousand untruths of the use of them, as heretics are accustomed: and by reason they found these things about him, they were confirmed in their opinion, that he was a priest, and thereupon impannelled a jury and condemned him. And on the 11th of March, according to our stile, he was drawn upon a hurdle from the prison to the place of execution; where he had his life offered him if he would take the oath, which he constantly refusing, was turned off the ladder, and being half dead was cut down by the executioner, “dismembered, bowelled” and quartered: all which he suffered with wonderful patience, courage and constancy, and signs of great comfort; seeing that now fulfilled in him which he had so long desired; not without some foreknowledge, by vision, from God, as himself secretly discovered to some friends that were with him in the same prison; where at this present are remaining about eighty other catholics, condemned most of them in a *præmunire*, that is to say, the loss of all their goods, and perpetual imprisonment.

‘ A certain young man, a catholic, having a desire to get some relics of this holy martyr, bought of the hangman his stockings: which a protestant espying, caused the young man to be examined by the magistrate; and being found to be a catholic, and the servant of a catholic gentleman, they sent him to prison, where he remains and suffers with the rest.

‘ After the condemnation and death of this holy man, the judges and justices of the assizes, perceiving their proceedings not to be pleasing to the people; (having condemned him against all law, without either witness, or other substantial proof, only for having beads about him, and because he would not directly deny himself to be a priest) endeavoured to satisfy the world, by producing afterwards a base wicked fellow, who witnessed before them, that the party condemned was a priest, and that he had sometimes seen him say mass.’—Mr. Atkinson suffered at York, March 11, 1615-16.

His Latin life, printed at Douay 1617, confirms the truth of that extraordinary event, of his irons falling off his legs, when he was employed in prayer, as a thing well known and attested by many: as also the vision he had before his apprehension, in which our blessed Lady revealed to him that he should glorify her Son, by suffering for his cause a cruel martyrdom.

155. * *John Thulis, Priest.*—and 156. *Roger Wrenno, or Worren, Layman.*

JOHN Thulis was born in Lancashire, at a place called Up-Holland; and performed the greatest part of his studies abroad in Douay college,

* From a printed account of their martyrdom, published at Douay in 1617. And from a manuscript in my hands.

during its residence at Rhemes: from whence, being now a student in divinity and in holy orders, he was sent to Rome, where he was made priest. After his return to England he fell into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and was for many years a close prisoner in Wisbich castle: when or how he escaped, or was released from thence, I have not found: but for the latter part of his time he seems to have exercised his missionary functions in his own country: at least there he was apprehended by order of William earl of Derby, and committed prisoner to the county jail at Lancaster.

His Latin life, printed at Douay the year after his execution, informs us, that God almighty had prepared this his servant for the crown of martyrdom, by many trials and crosses, which he had underwent with a wonderful courage and tranquillity of mind: and that once when he was brought to death's door by extremity of sickness, and had received all the rites of the church, he was divinely admonished that he was not to die that time, but to look for a more glorious death by martyrdom: that he was a man exceedingly mortified in his life; and who had acquired so great a command of his passions, that though by nature he was of a choleric disposition, he had so far overcome himself, that even in the midst of calumnies and lies, which were unjustly cast upon him, he behaved with that temper and meekness, and so moderated all his words, as if nothing had come out of his mouth, but what had been well studied and meditated beforehand: insomuch that one of the judges, who sat upon him at his trial, was heard to say in the company of many gentlemen, that he had scarce met in all the north of England with a man of so much modesty, prudence, and temper.

In the same prison of Lancaster castle, where Mr. Thulis was confined, among other catholics, there was one Roger Wrenno or Worren, a weaver by trade, but a zealous and devout soul. These two not long before the lent assizes, 1616, found means to make their escape out of prison about five in the evening: and making the best of their way, as they imagined, from that time till the next day, walking all that while a good round pace; when they thought they were now about thirty miles from Lancaster, they found themselves to be very near that town, God's holy will designing for them there the crown of martyrdom. So being discovered at sun rising in that neighbourhood, they were apprehended, and brought back again to their lodgings in the castle, where they were sure to be better looked to for the future. Soon after this the assizes came on, when they were both brought to their trial, and both condemned. Mr. Thulis was sentenced to die as in cases of high treason, for being a priest, and exercising his priestly functions in this realm; and the weaver as in cases of felony, for relieving and assisting priests. Yet they both of them had their lives offered them, if they would take the new oath of allegiance; and as to Mr. Thulis, a gentleman of that country (Mr. Ashton, of Leaver) who was his godson, profered him £20 a year for his life if he would comply: but they both constantly refused the oath, as inconsistent with truth and their conscience.

The day appointed for their execution was the 18th of March,

when Mr. Thulis was brought out of the castle, and laid upon a hurdle, in order to be drawn to the gallows. As he took his last leave of his fellow-priests, who remained there in prison, he recommended to them mutual love and charity, the proper characteristics of the true disciples of Christ. Wrenno was conducted at the same time to execution in the company of divers malefactors, who were to suffer the same day; four of whom had been lately reconciled in prison by Mr. Thulis to God and his church, and constantly professed to the last the catholic faith, as the true and only saving religion.

At the gallows, when Mr. Thulis was going up the ladder, he was again called upon to save his life by taking the oath: and why, said they, should you boggle at it? It requires nothing more of you than a civil allegiance to the king. Write me then, said he, a form of an oath which contains nothing but civil allegiance, and I will take it. They told him, they could tender him no other form of oath than that which was ordered by the parliamentary statute; and that, said he, I cannot in conscience take; for it contains many things contrary to catholic faith. So he was turned off the ladder, and afterwards cut down and quartered. His four quarters were hung up at four of the chief towns of the county, viz. Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington; that at Preston was fixed to the church steeple: and his head was set up on the castle walls.

As for Wrenno, the weaver, after he was turned off the ladder, the rope broke with the weight of his body, and he fell down to the ground: and after a short space he came perfectly to himself, and going upon his knees, began to pray very devoutly, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven. Upon this the ministers come up to him, and extol the providence and mercies of God in his regard, and likewise the king's clemency, who would give him his life, if he would but condescend after all to take the oath. The good man at this presently arose, saying, I am the same man I was, and in the same mind, use your pleasure with me: and with that he run to the ladder, and went up it as fast as he could. How now, says the sheriff, what does the man mean, that he is in such haste? Oh! says the good man, if you had seen that which I have just now seen, you would be as much in haste to die as I now am. And so the executioner putting a stronger rope about his neck, turned the ladder, and quickly sent him to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living, of which before he had had a glimpse.—They suffered at Lancaster, March 18, 1615-16.

177. * *Thomas Maxfield, Priest.*

HE was descended of an ancient family of this name in Staffordshire. His father, who was a man of great piety, had suffered much for his religion; and besides the confiscation of his estate, and a long

* From his life, published this same year at Douay by Dr. Kellison: and from an account sent over to Douay by an eye-witness of his conflict; and printed there in the following year.

and close imprisonment of many years, was actually under sentence of death for his faith when this son was born; his wife being at the same time a close prisoner for the same cause. As for Mr. Thomas, having got some little tincture of grammar in his own country, he was sent abroad to the English college of Douay, where he arrived in 1603, and there made a good progress in learning; finished his course of philosophy; and was advanced two years in the study of divinity, when he was attacked with a long and lingering sickness, which obliged him to interrupt his studies, and return to his native country, in hopes of recovering his health by change of air; which had its desired effect, for after some time he recovered, and then without delay crossed the seas again, and returned to the college; where, having compleated his divinity, and being found by the superiors every way qualified by virtue and learning for an apostolic life, he was presented to holy orders in 1614, and sent upon the mission in 1615.

At his coming to London the first visit he made was to a priest, an intimate friend of his, a close prisoner in the Gate-house; where likewise he celebrated mass for the first time after his arrival in England. After which three months did not pass before he was apprehended, being upon his knees before the altar, after mass, in recollection and prayer. In this posture the pursuivants found him, and immediately laying hands upon him, violently halled him away, as if he had been some notorious robber or housebreaker taken in the fact.

He was convened before some of the bishops, who put the usual murthering questions unto him. Was he a Romish priest? Why did he presume, after having taken orders in the church of Rome, to return into England contrary to the laws of this nation? Was he willing to take the oath of allegiance? &c. To these interrogatories, Mr. Maxfield returned a plain and distinct answer, viz. he owned himself a priest, ordained by a catholic bishop, according to the form appointed in the Roman pontifical, and by authority derived from the bishop of Rome. That as he was lawfully ordained, so was he likewise lawfully sent to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments to his countrymen: and that as the mission of priests lawfully ordained is originally from Christ, who sent his apostles even as his father had sent him, he humbly conceived no human laws could justly render his return into England criminal; for this would be to prefer the ordinances of men to the commands of the supreme legislator Christ himself. As to the rest, he would pay obedience in all civil matters to his majesty; but would not take the oath of allegiance as it was worded. Upon this he was sent to the Gate-house, where he had before offered to God the first fruits of his mission.

His conduct in prison (for about 8 months) was truly religious and edifying to all. The author of the Latin account of his martyrdom, published at Douay the same year he suffered, who seems to have been an eye-witness of his behaviour, gives this commendation of him: that he wholly devoted himself to prayer, and other religious exercises; that he used great mortifications; and that his comportment in general, during the time of his confinement in the Gatehouse, was such as afforded great comfort and edification to the other prisoners.

But as zeal for the conversion of souls was his predominant virtue, it put him upon thoughts of making his escape out of prison, that he might be in a condition of being more serviceable to the souls of his neighbours at a time when priests were very much wanted. The design he communicated to a fellow-prisoner, a father of the society of Jesus, who was his spiritual director, together with his motives and reasons; and farther to learn the will of heaven, he earnestly recommended the affair to God in his devotions for many days; adding fasting and alms to his prayers, and humbly beseeching the Almighty to manifest his will to him, and give such issue to his undertaking as should be best pleasing to him, and most conducive to his divine honour and glory.

And now having concerted his measures, he attempted to put his design in execution on the 24th of June 1616; letting himself down in the dead of the night from a high window, by the help of a cord. But when he was just come to the ground, he was surprised to find himself fast in the arms of an unknown person; who by his loud cries gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, and so turnkeys, watchmen, &c. came rushing in upon him, and after having hauled, dragged, beat, and buffeted him, to make sure-work, they thrust him under a table, girding about his neck a massive collar of iron; to this again they fasten a ponderous chain of an hundred weight, wherewith they inhumanly load and fetter him; and in this painful posture they keep him for some hours till the morning, and then he met with even more barbarous usage, as we shall now see.

There was in the Gatehouse a subterraneous dungeon, a deep and dark hole, which, if we may judge by the filth and nastiness of the place, had not been opened or made use of for a long time: in this dungeon was a pair of wooden stocks of an odd contrivance, made not so much to secure as to torture the prisoner. Here, by the jailor's orders, Mr. Maxfield was to take up his quarters: and in this engine his feet were fastened in such manner that he could neither stand upright, nor yet lie down; or turn or move his body into any other posture for a little ease: to which was added another torment more intolerable to human nature, from the swarms of venomous insects, generated in the filth and moisture of the vault, which by their creeping over his body, fast locked up in this cruel machine, sorely annoyed him, without his being able to make the least defence against them. The darkness, stench, horror, and torments of this place, the confessor of Christ endured from before day-break on Friday till Monday night, that is, for above 70 hours together, without the least intermission, till a warrant was sent from the council for his immediate removal to Newgate, in order for his trial.

There was something so very cruel and barbarous in this treatment of Mr. Maxfield, that it moved the whole prison to compassionate his condition, and study to give him help: so that not without danger of incurring the like penalty, they raised up a plank, and opened a small passage over the dungeon, through which they spoke to him, pitied his extreme sufferings, and threw him in an old blanket to cover him, being before almost naked. And a priest of the society,

a prisoner there, whom Mr. Maxfield had made use of for his confessor, ventured to come to this hole to speak to him, to comfort him, and to exhort him to patience and courage. But what surprised this good father very much, was, to find the man of God so far from being dejected amidst that variety of sufferings, or in need of any human comforts, that his soul seemed to be elevated with supernatural lights, and abounding with heavenly consolations.

On Monday at night he was dragged out of this dungeon; living indeed, and that was all; his face as pale as that of a dead corpse; his spirits sunk with hunger, and want of rest, to that degree, that he was under continual faintings away: his hands and feet so benumbed, as to have lost all feeling and use; insomuch that it was some time before he was able to move. However the same night, having first fettered his arms, they hurried him away, and forced him to walk from Westminster to Newgate. Here he was committed to the common side, amongst a gang of felons, and was loaded with heavy irons, without any other convenience for a little rest but the bare floor. But that which gave this holy soul the greatest pain, was, the profane and impious discourse of those miserable wretches, who, though threatened with approaching death, yet took no care to make their peace with God, but added daily new crimes to their former heavy load of wickedness, without the least remorse or sense of God's judgments upon impenitent sinners. Mr. Maxfield laid hold of every occasion to bring these poor wretches to a sense of their deplorable state, and to a repentance for their sins: and the divine goodness gave that blessing to his words, that he reconciled two of the felons to God and his church. The keepers were soon acquainted with it, and he looked for nothing less than the stocks or dungeon a second time; but as his trial was at hand and he was looked upon to be a dead man, they winked at it; only took care to prevent the like practices for the future, by removing him from the common side, and placing him amongst his fellow-priests, a comfort he could not obtain before.

On Wednesday the 26th of June, 1616, Mr. Maxfield was brought to the bar. The trial was soon over, for being indicted for taking orders in the Roman church, and exercising the same in England, he fairly confessed himself a priest, and so was remanded back to Newgate, locked up in a separate place by himself, loaded with heavy irons, and so strictly looked to, that no person was allowed to visit him. However he procured by some means or other to desire his fellow-priests in the other part of the prison, to recite the *Te Deum*, to give thanks to God for the blessings he had received that day. The next morning he was again brought to the bar, to receive sentence, when the judge offered him life, provided he would take the oath of allegiance. To which Mr. Maxfield replied, that his conscience would not permit him to take that oath, in the manner it was worded; for that it contained some expressions, which he conceived were not consistent with truth. Then turning himself to the standers-by, he desired them to take notice, that he was condemned for no other crime but his priesthood, no other treason being so much as objected against him: and that even for this too, in their own hearing, pardon

Had been offered him, provided he would take the oath of allegiance. He therefore protested, upon the word of a dying man, that he acknowledged King James his true and lawful sovereign; that he bore him true and faithful allegiance, and was willing to declare the same upon oath, provided it were done without such clauses and assertions as are contrary to truth, and the catholic religion. After he had said this, he was proceeding to shew the iniquity of the laws, by which men were condemned to death for exercising priestly functions, in a nation which had been converted to the christian faith by priests of the same religion; when the court interrupted him, bidding him attend to the sentence, which was pronounced in the usual form, viz. that he should be drawn to the place of execution, hanged, then cut down alive, dismembered and bowelled, his bowels to be thrown into the fire, his head to be severed from the body, his body quartered, &c. After sentence pronounced he was hurried back to prison, and thrust into the condemned hole, where he lay till the execution day.

Strict orders were sent to Newgate that no papists should have access to the prisoner. However some few made interest to see him. Amongst others a lady of quality found means to make him a charitable visit, who declared herself very much edified and comforted with his heavenly discourses and saintlike comportment.

The Spanish ambassador went to court to solicit a pardon for him; and that being refused, he petitioned at least for a reprieve; but was told that his excellency must wait till Tuesday next for a final answer. This was on Sunday evening; and the dead-warrant being signed for the executing the prisoners the very next day, the ambassador suspected the worst, but knew not how to remedy it. However he sent his own son to wait on Mr. Maxfield personally in Newgate, and with him his director, F. Didacus de Puente, a religious man of great learning and piety, of the order of St. Dominick, who in company of some others of the Spanish nation got admittance to see and comfort the holy man, and to desire his prayers, not only for the ambassador and his family, but also for the king his master and the whole nation of Spain: assuring him withal, that no endeavours should be wanting on the ambassador's part to procure him a reprieve, though he very much doubted whether he should succeed.

These pious visitors found the priest of Jesus Christ in a dark dungeon, loaded with heavy irons like the worst of malefactors; but withal perfectly calm, and even modestly chearful under his sufferings. And though he was pretty well convinced that he was to die the next morning; yet was he so far from appearing dejected or dismayed at the terrors of approaching death, or the least dissatisfied with his lot, that on the contrary there appeared both in his countenance, and in his words and actions, such manifest signs of christian fortitude, and of an entire dependence and confidence in the divine protection, for his support and strength in that last dreadful hour, together with such a saintlike and heavenly air in the whole conversation he had with these strangers, as transported them with a holy joy at the sight of this victim of faith, and filled them with respect and veneration towards so great a servant of God. The acts of his martyrdom tell us,

that they threw themselves at his feet; that they kissed his hands and his chains, and even the very ground he trod on, beseeching him with tears that they might be serviceable to him in one kind or other. Mr. Maxfield thanked them for their charitable offers, but told them, he wanted nothing but theirs, and other good christians' prayers, for obtaining the grace of God that he might persevere to the end, and overcome the difficulties he was to encounter with: and therefore being very sensible of his own weakness and insufficiency, he desired them to pray for him. He likewise desired them to use their good offices with the ambassador, that at his return to Spain he would recommend to his catholic majesty the English college of Douay, upon which his royal predecessor Philip the second had settled an annual pension, which he hoped the present king, at the intercession of his excellency, would be pleased to continue. Upon this they took their leave of him, and left him to his devotions. And the reverend father confessor at his return home caused the blessed sacrament to be solemnly exposed in the ambassador's chapel, where the family and other catholics spent the night in prayer in behalf of this holy priest, who was in the morning to pour forth his blood in defence of the catholic religion.

The next day (the first of July) very early in the morning, Mr. Maxfield was demanded by the sheriff to be carried to the place of execution: and accordingly his irons were struck off, and he was immediately led out. It was observed, that much artifice was used to manage this business with as little noise as possible, insomuch that his fellow-prisoners the priests and other catholics, who were lodged in that quarter of Newgate over against him, were kept close up, and not permitted so much as to see him, or receive his last blessing as he passed by. However, when he came opposite to the window, he turned his face towards it, and with an audible voice bid them all *adieu*, and then making the sign of the cross upon himself and the crowd, he calmly and chearfully laid himself down upon the sledge.

The adversaries to prevent the great concourse of people, besides chusing so early an hour, had ordered that a woman should at the same time be burnt in Smithfield, in hopes that this would make a considerable diversion, and draw a great part of the people that way: but all was to no purpose, the people poured in from all parts of the town; and streets, windows and balconies were all thronged with unusual numbers to see this holy priest drawn to Tyburn: and great multitudes there were, horse and foot, who accompanied him to the very place of execution, amongst whom were many catholics of fashion as well foreigners as English. The Spaniards distinguished themselves upon this occasion, who joined themselves in a body, and though they met with many affronts, forced their way through the crowd to the sledge, and accompanied the confessor to the end of his stage, frequently exhorting him to constancy and perseverance, and begging for themselves his prayers and blessing, with their heads uncovered, and bowed down in the most respectful manner.

This was a sensible mortification to some people, who notwithstanding their forwardness to have this priest taken off, would gladly

have had it done in a more private way ; well knowing that putting priests to death for religious matters only, could not fail to bring an odium upon protestants. But there was yet another circumstance, that was not less vexatious to them : for when they arrived at Tyburn they found the gibbet beautifully adorned with garlands, and wreaths of flowers ; and the ground all covered with odoriferous herbs and greens, in honour of the martyr who was going to suffer there, and of the cause for which he was to shed his blood.

Mr. Maxfield being now in the cart, turned himself to the people, and with a serene countenance and modest assurance spoke to them to this purpose.

* *Dear Countrymen,*

‘ **W**HEREAS my return into England, and my remaining here is
 ‘ the cause of my being brought hither to suffer a disgraceful death,
 ‘ I beg leave to assure you upon the word of a dying man, that my
 ‘ errand into my native country after many years spent abroad, was
 ‘ not to encourage treasons and rebellions, or withdraw his majesty’s
 ‘ subjects from their allegiance, or in any kind to intermeddle in state
 ‘ affairs ; but only to be serviceable to the souls of my dear country-
 ‘ men, by endeavouring to remove their errors, and bring them back
 ‘ to the faith of their ancestors. Know also, good people, that I am
 ‘ not of the number of those, of whom God complains by the mouth
 ‘ of his prophet, that *they went without his sending*. No, God forbid,
 ‘ that I should undertake a business of this consequence without autho-
 ‘ rity of superiors. I came here, because I *was sent* : and I was sent
 ‘ and commissioned to preach to you, by the same apostolic see, which
 ‘ formerly sent St. Augustine and his companions into this kingdom,
 ‘ to instruct our Saxon ancestors in the faith of Jesus Christ : and
 ‘ surely as my mission was from the same authority, and directed to
 ‘ the same end, viz. the conversion of Englishmen to the catholic
 ‘ faith ; by condemning me of treason for taking orders in the church
 ‘ of Rome, and remaining in England, you cannot but see that you
 ‘ involve St. Augustine in the same guilt of treason, a thing in itself
 ‘ absurd to all intents and purposes.’

Here the sheriff interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed ; giving orders at the same time to the executioner to do his office. Upon which Mr. Maxfield, falling upon his knees, employed himself for a few minutes in private devotions : then he raised his voice, and prayed aloud for the king, queen, and royal family ; and likewise for the people of this kingdom in general ; and after another pause in silent prayer, he prayed again aloud for his persecutors, earnestly beseeching Almighty God to forgive all, as he for his part sincerely forgave them, who had been any ways instrumental in taking away his life. These prayers he made with a sedate countenance, and a devotion edifying to all. And now the executioner having fitted the

cord to his neck, the confessor lifted up his eyes to heaven, and stretching forth his right hand gave his last blessing to the people, which the greatest part received with bare heads, and many of them kneeling. Then beseeching the catholics to assist his departing soul with their fervent prayers, he repeated aloud those words, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*, and so the cart was drawn away.

He had hanged a very little while, when the sheriff cried out to the executioner to cut the rope, and *butcher him alive*, according to sentence. But the crowd opposing it, and by loud reproaches testifying their horror of such a barbarous proposition, the executioner held his hand; and he was permitted to hang till he was dead, at least to all sense of pain: and then he was bowelled and quartered.

The sheriff, to shew his zeal, forbade, upon pain of imprisonment, that any one should dare to carry off any part of the body, or of his garments, or even of the straw upon which the body was butchered. And to prevent the catholics from stealing afterwards any of his relicks, he ordered a pit to be made near the gallows, of an unusual depth, into which he threw the mangled limbs of the servant of God, and over them two half rotten carcasses of felons that had been buried there a month before: and upon these again he cast in the bodies of thirteen malefactors who were executed that day, pressing down upon them a great quantity of earth; and so he thought he had done the work effectually. But some zealous young men that very night, notwithstanding all the sheriff's precautions, opening the hole, took up the mangled body of the martyr, and carried it away in order to a more decent interment.—He suffered July the first, 1616.

Mr. Maxfield a little while before his trial wrote the following letter to Dr. Kellison, then president of Douay college, the original of which is to this day preserved in the college.

MOST reverend and most dear father, as in duty I am bound never to forget you, who have ever had so tender and fatherly care of me; so now especially I must in no ways omit to write to you, being peradventure the last time that ever I must salute you: for that now I expect with some hopes, (if so unworthy a wretch may presume to hope for so great a dignity) to end my days in the just quarrel of my lord and master Christ Jesu. I suppose, good sir, now that it has come to your notice of my attempt out of the Gatehouse; and how it hath pleased God to dispose of me, and deliver me again into the hands of my enemies, who apprehending me, put me to suffer unusual affliction and misery; the particular relation whereof I chuse rather to remit to some other, than myself to be the reporter. From thence I was removed by special warrant to Newgate; whence, as all men tell me, I am to be produced to my answer upon Wednesday or Thursday next, there to receive my trial on life and death, the happiest news and tidings that ever I heard; God give me strength & courage, and make me to glorify his glorious name by my death; and to fill up the number of my glorified brethren,

‘ that are gone before me: I think myself most happy that I am
 ‘ branched out of, and still remain a member of that blessed house of
 ‘ Douay, that has afforded to our poor barren country so much good
 ‘ and happy seed. I am therefore yours, and so will live and die.
 ‘ Let me therefore, dear father, be made partaker of your good
 ‘ prayers, and commend me, I beseech you, to all my good and dearly
 ‘ beloved brethren, whose happiness I wish ever as my own: and I
 ‘ will never cease, God willing, to pray for you and them, and for the
 ‘ prosperity of that house, both in life and after death. I am forced,
 ‘ dear good sir, to be brief, through the much company that cometh to me
 ‘ at this present, & other necessary business; but I hope you will pardon
 ‘ me, and accept of this as a token of a great good will. I am your
 ‘ poor debtor, and, if I live, I will one day defray all; if otherwise,
 ‘ I hope you will remit it. And so in haste, being called to the grate
 ‘ by the sheriff’s man, I bid you, dear father, farewell in Christ Jesu.
 Your ever most dutiful, THOMAS MAXFIELD.

158. * *Thomas Tunstal alias Helmes, Priest.*

THOMAS Tunstal (who in the Douay records is called Helmes) was collaterally descended from the ancient family of the Tunstals, of Thurland in Lancashire, (which afterwards removed into Yorkshire, where they have long resided at Scargill, Hutton or Wickliff) but was himself born in the diocese of Carlisle. He performed his studies abroad in the English college of Douay; was ordained priest in 1609, and sent on the English mission in 1610. Here he quickly fell into the hands of the persecutors, and spent four or five years of his mission in different prisons. His last confinement before his final apprehension was in Wisbich castle, from whence he made his escape, letting himself down by a rope. From Wisbich he made the best of his way into Norfolk, where he took shelter in a friend’s house not far from Lynn. But he had been there very few days, when search was made for him, and he was apprehended.

There was in that neighbourhood a charitable lady, who did great service to the poor in the way of surgery. Mr. Tunstal stood in great want of such assistance, having grievously galled and wounded his hands by the rubbing of the rope, at the time when he made his escape; the sores for want of proper applications being grown exceeding painful. Therefore his catholic host advised him to apply to lady l’Estrange (this was her name) and put himself under her care. She received him kindly, dressed his wounds, and promised him her best assistance for making a cure. However the good lady could not forbear talking to her husband Sir Hammond l’Estrange, a justice of peace, of some particulars relating to her new patient; as, that he was in poor apparel, yet a gentleman-like man in his discourse and behaviour; but withal somewhat reserved in giving an account how he came

* From the account of his martyrdom, printed at Douay in 1618, and from a manuscript sent me by C--- C---, Esq. and two other written relations.

by those wounds in his hands ; that he was a stranger in the country, and lodged at the house of a popish recusant. The justice immediately cried out, this must be the popish priest lately escaped out of Wisbich, for whom he had that day received orders to make diligent search. Upon this, the lady is reported to have cast herself on her knees to intercede for the man, begging her husband to take no notice of what she had said ; adding, that she should be an unhappy woman all her life, if the priest should come to any trouble through her speeches. But notwithstanding all she could say or do, the knight persisted in his resolution of securing the man, and accordingly sent out his warrant, and had him seized and brought before him. And though the lady again renewed her instances to have him dismissed, yet she could not be heard : but Mr. Tunstall was forthwith committed to Norwich goal, where at the next assizes he was brought upon his trial and condemned.

By the (*Exemplar Litterarum*, p. 36, &c.) printed account of his martyrdom published at Douay the same year, he was condemned upon the testimony of one single witness, and he a man of no conscience or honesty. This fellow made oath that the prisoner had seduced two of the king's subjects from the protestant religion, to the superstitions of the church of Rome, and that he had made some attempts that way upon himself. Mr. Tunstal desired the parties might be allowed to speak what they knew ; and being called upon, they both declared that what Symons the witness had sworn was false ; the prisoner's discourse to them being no other than a persuasive to holiness of life in general ; and that neither of them had been reconciled : this both of them offered to confirm upon oath. Symons being called again, farther deposed, that the prisoner had confessed himself to be a priest in his hearing ; and also, that he had been at Rome, and had spoken to the pope, who had conferred upon him power to forgive sins and dispense indulgences. This was perjury with a witness, for Mr. Tunstal had never seen Rome or Italy in his life. However, his solemn denial of these things was not regarded : but the jury was directed by the judge to find the prisoner guilty of the indictment, which was done accordingly.

The jury had no sooner brought in their verdict, but Mr. Tunstal signing himself with the sign of the cross, and falling upon his knees, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, cried out in an audible voice, *benedicta sit sancta trinitas, atque indivisa unitas ; confitebimur ei, quia fecit nobiscum misericordiam suam*. Blessed be the holy trinity, and undivided unity, we will confess to him, because he has shewed his mercy unto us : and in that posture continued for a while in prayer.

Here the judge "Altam" demanded if he would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy ? Mr. Tunstal replied, his conscience would not permit him to take those oaths ; but if his lordship was pleased to appoint some minister to confer with him, he should be glad of the opportunity of rendering an account of his faith ; and that he did earnestly entreat him that a conference might be had about religion, that truth might appear. But the judge cut him short, telling him, he

was a crafty disputant, a cunning sophister, and as such not to be heard, or treated with by way of dispute. Instead of that, he bid him hearken to the sentence of death which he was to pronounce upon him; viz. that he should be drawn through the streets to the place of execution, where he should be hanged by the neck, then cut down alive, &c. *Deo gratias*, says Mr. Tunstal; and then with a smiling countenance turning to the judge, *Why, my good lord*, says he, *this whole dreadful sentence imports but one death; and I do assure your lordship, by the help of God's grace, I am not ashamed, nor afraid of death, come when it will.*

The next day about 9 o'clock, the sheriff with his officers came to demand the prisoner, Mr. Tunstal with a chearful countenance saluted them, courteously telling them, he was ready to obey their orders, accordingly being brought to the hurdle, he fell upon his knees, and after some short devotions, rising up he signed himself and the hurdle with the sign of the cross, and so delivered himself to the officers to be pinioned and tied upon it as they thought proper. He was drawn for a long mile through the street and ways so full of dust, that he had like to have been suffocated with it. When they arrived at the gallows, he was taken off the hurdle; and kneeling down at the foot of the ladder, he employed about a quarter of an hour in fervent prayer. When he got up, Sir Hammond l'Estrange alighting off his horse, came and spoke to him in a courteous manner, with his head uncovered, to this effect. Well, Mr. Tunstal, I find then you are determined to die, and I hope you are prepared for it. Indeed, Sir Hammond, says the holy man, die I must, neither do I repine at it; on the contrary, I have great reason to rejoice that I am to die in so good a cause; and therefore I cannot but be thankful in a particular manner to Sir Hammond l'Estrange, for being chiefly instrumental in bringing me to this place. I do heartily forgive you, sir, and I beseech God that my guiltless blood may not lie heavy upon you and yours. Sir Hammond thanked him, and so departed.

Then the sheriff ordered him to go up the ladder; which he did with great courage, blessing himself, kissing both the gallows and the rope, and having spent another quarter of an hour in private devotion, he turned to the people, and began to speak upon the text, *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo*, &c. 1 Cor. iv. 9. but was commanded to desist, the ministers apprehending the impression that his words might make upon the standers-by. Then he offered to inform the people at least of the true cause of his condemnation, that it was upon account of taking orders abroad, and exercising his priestly functions in England, and not for any treasonable practices against the king, or government; declaring withal, that what Symons had sworn of his being at Rome was false: and that he had been condemned upon the testimony of one single witness, which he conceived was not according to law. But here again he was interrupted by Sir Thomas Jenkinson, and ordered to forbear making reflections upon the proceedings of the court.

Then he once more recollected himself in prayer, often repeating aloud those penitential words, *O God be merciful to me a sinner*: and

often calling upon the holy name of Jesus, which he had in a manner continually in his mouth; and imploring the intercession of the blessed virgin and the saints. Then he prayed aloud for the king, queen, and royal family, and for the people of England in general, 'Beseeching God in his great mercy to open their eyes, and bring them to the knowledge of the true faith:' which prayer he repeated three different times, with much fervour and devotion. He also put up a short but fervent prayer to God for the conversion and repentance of his accuser Robert Symons, beseeching God to touch his heart with his powerful grace, that he might truly repent of his perjury, and do penance for his sin: declaring withal, that if he had ten thousand times as many lives as there were persons present in that crowd, he would most willingly lay them all down for his religion.

Being asked, whether he was a jesuit, or a secular priest? He answered, he was a secular priest, but had made a vow of entering into the holy order of St. Bennet, if it could be done; and therefore he desired of the sheriff that his head might be set up on St. Bennet's gate.

The sheriff and the ministers asked him, if he believed there was any merit in *good works*, and whether he expected to be saved by his good works. He answered, that good works were certainly meritorious, and great means of salvation, through the passion of Christ, without which no one could be saved; but as for himself, he acknowledged himself a most unprofitable servant, or rather most wicked, and good for nothing; and therefore had his whole recourse to the death and blood of his redeemer, and desired to hide himself in his wounds. Then he called for a glass of water to refresh his mouth, by reason of the great heat and the dust; and asking what o'clock it was, and being told it was about eleven; then, says he, it is near dinner time: *Sweet Jesus! admit me, though most unworthy, to be a guest this day at thy heavenly table.*

Near the gallows, but behind the back of the martyr, there was a great fire prepared to burn his bowels, and by it the block on which he was to be quartered. Mr. Tunstal turned his face towards these objects, which would have shocked another person, and kept his eyes for some time fixed on them; and making the sign of the cross on the fire, remained a while in contemplation. Then the hangman fitted the rope to his neck, which the martyr devoutly kissed, and blessed with the sign of the cross, saying, *Glory be to thee, O Lord.* He also desired the executioner to give him notice when he was to be turned off, that he might die with the holy name of Jesus in his mouth. They told him, that he might give the sign himself if he pleased: but this, he said, he would not do, because he would by no means hasten his own death.

After this, he again made the sign of the cross, and lifting up his hands begged the catholics that were there present to recommend his departing soul to God; and addressed himself to his Saviour in these words of the church, *Bone Jesu, verbum Patris, splendor æternæ gloriæ, &c. Good Jesus, the word of the Father, the brightness of eternal glory, &c.* Adding at the end, *into thy hands, O Lord, I commend*

my spirit; and often repeating the holy name of Jesus, till the executioner gave him notice; *now* Mr. Tunstal, and turned him off, having these words in his mouth, *Jesu, Jesu, have mercy on me.*

And thus expired this constant confessor of Christ, having never shewn from the beginning to the end the least token of fear, nor so much as changed his colour. The lookers on, who were very numerous, and amongst them many persons of note, were all sensibly affected with the sight of his death: many shed tears, all spoke kindly and compassionately of him, and appeared edified with his saintlike behaviour. He was permitted to hang till he was dead; then was cut down, bowelled, and quartered. His head was placed on St. Bennet's gate, in Norwich, according to his request, his quarters on the walls of the city, where they hung for some time, but then were privately taken down. He suffered July 13, 1616. The judge who condemned him died before he had finished his circuit; and most of the jury came to untimely ends, or great misfortunes.

The year 1617 passed without any executions of catholics for religion.

159. * *William Southerne, Priest.*—1618.

HE was an alumnus and priest of the English college of Douay, and the last that suffered in the reign of king James the first. I have met with but few particulars relating to the life and death of this holy man. Raissius in his catalogue of the priests of Douay college who have suffered in England, printed at Douay, 1630, p. 82, informs us from the letters which the college had received from persons of undoubted credit on the spot, that this apostolic priest during his mission was mostly employed in converting and assisting the poor: that being apprehended, he was condemned to die for being a priest: that he refused the oath of allegiance: that when the sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he fell upon his knees and gave hearty thanks to God: that after condemnation he was forced to lie in a dark and loathsome dungeon for six days, because no one could be found during that time who would perform the office of the hangman. That he suffered at Newcastle; and that his head being set up on a spear on one of the town gates, was for some days after by many observed to smile.

Mr. Knaresborough in his manuscript collections adds, 'That he has been told, that Mr. Southerne's mission lay chiefly among the poorer sort of catholics at Bassage, in Staffordshire, an estate belonging to the Fowlers of St. Thomas; and that he was seized at the altar, and hurried away in his vestments to a neighbouring justice of peace, who committed him to Stafford goal; and this happening at the beginning of the assizes, he was immediately prosecuted, convicted and sentenced. That he was carried to Newcastle-under-Line, and was there strangled, and butchered according to sen-

* From Arnoldus Raissius's catalogue of the Douay martyrs.

' tence. That his head is said to have been brought back to Stafford, ' and fixed upon a spear on one of the gates *in terrorem*.'—He suffered April 30, 1618.

About the end of July of this same year (as we learn from the Douay diary) upon occasion of the treaty of marriage which was then on foot between prince Charles and the *infanta of Spain*, at the intercession of the Spanish Embassador, no less than sixty priests, who were confined in divers prisons throughout the kingdom, were permitted to exchange their prisons for perpetual banishment, and were transported beyond the seas.

From the year 1618 till the death of king James the first, who died March the 27th, 1625, I have not met with any mention of priests or others put to death in England for the catholic religion: unless we suppose F. Thomas Dyer, monk, of the venerable order of St. Bennet, to have suffered in this interval. Certain it is, that he suffered some time before the year 1630, because he has place in Raissius's catalogue published in that year: and as he there is set down after F. Maurus Scot, who was executed in 1612, I suppose that he suffered between the years 1612 and 1630. But where, or when in particular it was, I have not found; nor any thing else relating either to his life or death.

Whilst the match with Spain was in agitation, the catholics flattered themselves with hopes of being more mildly treated: and we learn from Rushworth's collections, vol. 1. p. 14. that the king, upon being informed that the court of Spain, before they would consent to make any advance in that affair, expected he should propose some conditions in favour of his catholic subjects, dispatched over "anno 1620" Sir Walter Ashton with a letter to the king of Spain, ' promising on the word of a king, that no priest or lay catholic should ' thenceforth be condemned on any capital law; and that as the laws ' inflicting *pecuniary mulcts for recusancy*, though he could not at present rescind them, yet he promised to mitigate their execution, as ' thereby to oblige his catholic subjects. And farther, if the marriage ' should take effect, he promised his daughter-in-law should find him ' ready to indulge all favours which she should request for those of ' her religion.'

But though the persecution upon this occasion relented, this intermission or remission was not of any long continuance: for in the year 1623 the match was entirely broke off, and the laws were ordered to be put in execution against all priests and papists recusants: many priests were apprehended and committed to prison: the lay-gentlemen were obliged all over the kingdom to pay their £20 per month for their recusancy, and the poorer sort their shilling every Sunday: and as to all other pains and penalties, death only excepted, the persecuting statutes were executed for the remainder of this reign, with as much severity * as in any part of queen Elizabeth's days.

In the year 1624, Dr. William Bishop, titular bishop of Chalcedon,

* I have by me copies of several letters, representing the most cruel treatment of the catholics at this time, especially in the north.

departed this life in the 71st year of his age, leaving behind him this character, that he was both generally esteemed and loved, both by the laity and clergy, as well secular as regular. That he was a person of an apostolic spirit and life, who had both laboured and suffered very much in the cause of the faith; having been twice imprisoned, and as often banished for his religion; which he had also maintained by divers learned tracts against Mr. Perkins and Dr. Abbot. He was the son of John Bishop, esq., of Brayles, in the county of Warwick; was sent to the university of Oxford in the year 1570, where he was a student in Gloucester Hall. But after three or four years' studying there, being dissatisfied with the protestant religion, he not only left the university, but also his estate, relations and country, and went over to the college lately instituted at Douay. Here and at Rhemes he spent some years and was then sent to Rome,* and after some time upon the English mission. Immediately upon his landing in England he was apprehended and imprisoned, and some time after sent into banishment in 1585: upon this occasion he went to Paris, and there having gone through the usual exercises of the schools, he was made doctor of Sorbon: and after divers years more spent in apostolical labours upon the mission, and a second imprisonment and banishment, he was at length by pope Urban VIII. in 1622, created bishop of Chalcedon. He died in or near London, April the 13th, 1624; and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Smith.

In a manuscript relation concerning this great man, kept in the archives of the English college of Douay, there is this remarkable history of him. That upon his last return into England, after he was consecrated bishop in Flanders, he was privately advised by a principal magistrate, one of the king's privy council, (considering the present disposition of the parliament and the fury of the puritan faction, continually making remonstrances against the growth of popery) to delegate his authority to some others in quality of his vicars, and to retire beyond the seas, at least for a time, till the storm blew over: but that he returned this generous answer, worthy of a Basil, or an Ambrose: *that he was not afraid of the threats of the parliament; that as he had twice already suffered imprisonment for Christ, he was very willing to suffer it a third time; or if they should order any thing worse for him, he was ready to undergo it. That he did not come into England with a disposition to run away, as soon as he should see the wolf coming; but rather as a good shepherd, to lay down his life for his sheep.*

After the decease of king James the first, his son Charles, the first of that name, ascended the throne. This prince in his own nature seems not to have been inclined to persecution, at least not so far, as to come to the shedding of blood for religion: yet such was the iniquity of the times, and the importunity of the parliaments, ever complaining of the growth of popery, and urging the execution of the laws, that he gave way to all manner of severities against his catholic subjects, and issued

* By the Douay diary he was made priest at Laon, in May, 1583.

out proclamation upon proclamation for the executing the laws against them. So that the generality of catholics had a very bad time of it under his government. The first that suffered death by the penal statutes under this king was

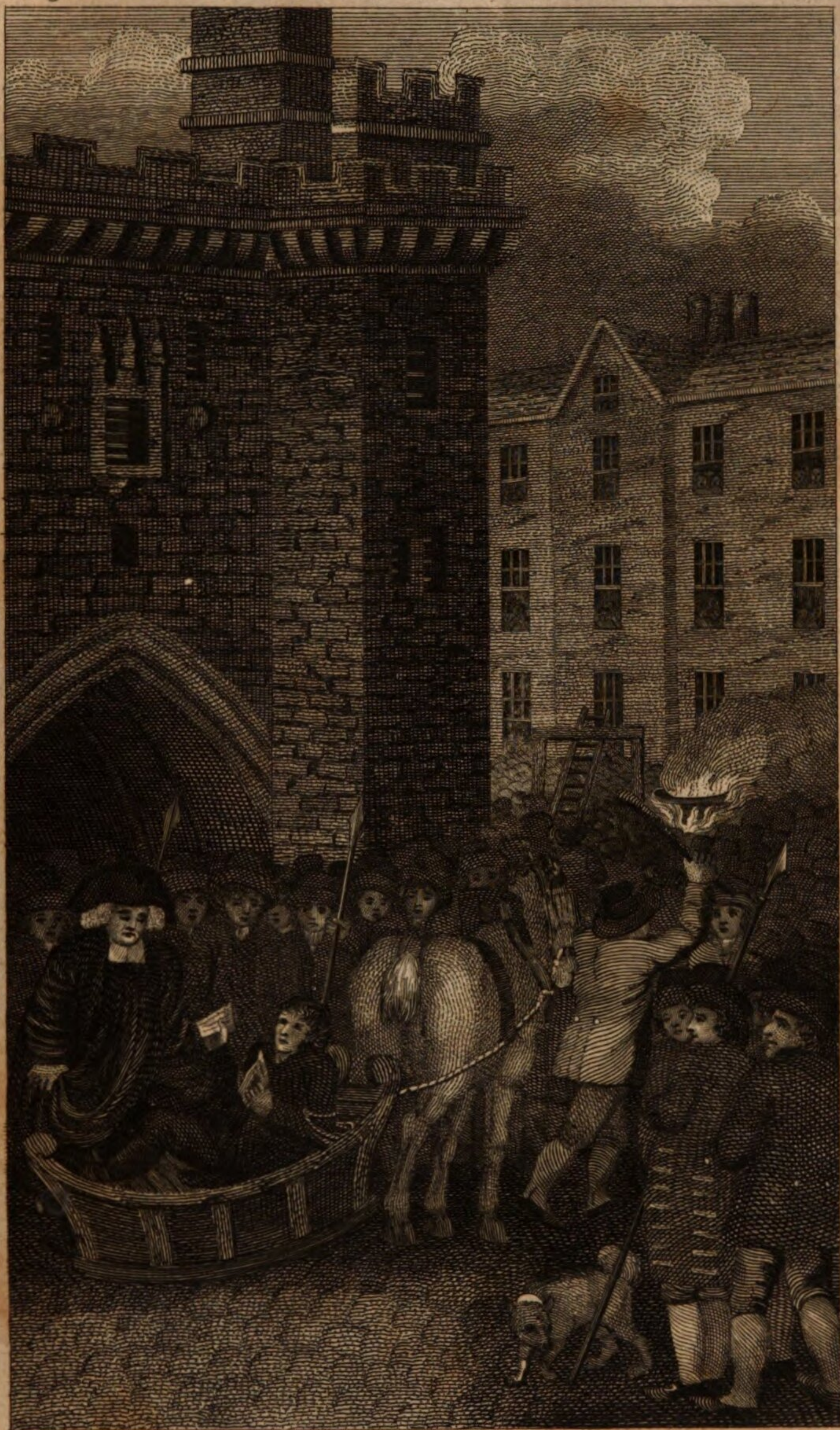
160. * *Edmund Arrowsmith, Priest, S. J.—1628.*

EDMUND Arrowsmith was born (as two several manuscripts in my hands expressly affirm) at a place called Haddock, in the parish of Winwick, five miles from Warrington and seven from Wigan, in 1585. His father was Robert Arrowsmith, a yeoman or farmer in that country; his mother, Margery, was a gentlewoman of the antient family of the Gerards. Both his parents were catholics, and great sufferers for their religion; as were also their fathers before them: for Thurstan Arrowsmith, grandfather to our Edmund, after the loss of goods, and frequent vexations from the pursuivants, suffered a long imprisonment, and died in bonds a confessor of Christ: and Mr. Nicholas Gerard, his grandfather by the mother's side, being a constant professor of the catholic faith, was by order of Sir Thomas Gerard, his own brother, forcibly carried to the protestant church (at a time when he was labouring under a violent fit of the gout, so that he could not stir) and there placed over-against the minister. But instead of joining with the minister or congregation in their service, he sung psalms in Latin, with so loud a voice, that the minister could not be heard, which obliged them to carry him away out of church.

As to the father and mother of Mr. Edmund, my Latin manuscript relates, that after divers other troubles and losses sustained for their conscience, they had their house searched by the pursuivants, who with their swords tried every bed and every hole, in which they suspected any priest, or priestly utensils might be hid; and then they and all their family were tied two and two together, and drove to Lancaster jail; leaving at home four little children, one of whom was our Edmund, whom the pursuivants had taken out of bed in their shifts, and left standing in the cold, not suffering any of the family to dress them; till some neighbours compassionating their case, came in and did this charitable office for the helpless infants. After this and some other imprisonments, from which he redeemed himself by money, the father of our confessor went abroad with his brother Peter, to be out of the way of these vexations; and they both served for a time in the wars in Holland: Peter died at Brussels, of a wound received in the wars; and was there honourably interred. Robert, the father of our Edmund, went to Rhemes or Douay, there to visit his other brother Dr. Edmund Arrowsmith, a man of great learning and piety, priest and professor in the college; and after some time returned again to England, and there made a pious end, having foretold his own death some time before.

Mrs. Arrowsmith being left a widow, and in low circumstances, a venerable priest in that country, to ease her burden, took the boy Ed-

* From a Latin manuscript of his life, preserved in Douay college: from a printed relation, published a little more than a year after his martyrdom; and from three other manuscripts sent me from Douay.



Black Del. & Sc.

The leading to execution of FATHER ARROWSMITH,
S.J. from LANCASTER CASTLE.

Published by T. Haydock. Manchester.

mund (then called Brian from the name by which he was christened) into his service, to bring him up to learning. My Latin manuscript tells us, that whilst he frequented the schools his daily practice was, as he went to school in the morning, to a place about a mile distance from home, to recite in the way with his brethren, the little hours of our lady's office; and when he was coming home at night, the vespers and complin: and that his first care after he came home was to withdraw into his oratory, and there to perform his customary devotions of the Jesus psalter, the seven psalms, &c. And such was the sweetness of his temper, and his comportment, that even his protestant school-masters were very fond of him. At length, having tried in vain to pass over to one of the Spanish seminaries, he succeeded better in his attempt to go into Flanders, where he was received in the English college of Douay in December, 1605.

Soon after his arrival at Douay he received the sacrament of confirmation, in which he took the name of Edmund (which was the name of his uncle Dr. Arrowsmith) and by this name he was ever after called. He had performed here a great part of his humanity studies, when he was obliged by the bad state of his health to interrupt the course of them, and to return to his native country: where in a short time he recovered, and then his old master sent him back to the college: where, taking the usual oath, he was admitted amongst the pope's alumni; and applying himself close to his studies, though somewhat infirm in health, he made a great progress in learning: but as his too great application threatened a return of his former illness, his superiors thought it most adviseable, (he having now gone through a good part of his divinity) to present him to holy orders, and to send him into England. Upon this he received all the lesser orders in St. Nicholas's church at Douay, June 14, 1612; and before the end of the same year, was advanced to the greater orders at Arras, and there made priest, December 9. And on the 17th of June of the following year, 1613, he was by Dr. Kellison, lately made president of the college, sent upon the English mission.

In England he quickly recovered his health; and employed his missionary labours in his own country of Lancashire with great zeal and success. The printed account of his death, published in 1630, gives his character in short thus: 'That he was a man of mean presence, but of great innocency in his life, of great sincerity in his nature, of great sweetness in his conversation, and of great industry in his function. And that he was ever of a chearful countenance, a most probable sign of an upright and unspotted conscience.' A fellow labourer of his, in a manuscript which I have in my hands, tells us to the same purpose, 'that though his presence was very mean, yet he was both zealous, witty, and fervent: and so forward (in disputing with heretics) that I often wished him merrily, says he, to carry salt in his pocket to season his actions, lest too much zeal without discretion might bring him too soon in danger, considering the vehement sudden storms of persecution that often assailed us.' My author goes on: 'sometimes I have been in his company, when meeting with ministers sumptuously mounted, I have had much ado to keep him from disputing with them; which if he had done, it would have brought the whole com-

pany into danger. In his travels on a time he met with a protestant gentleman, who seeing him of so mean a presence, and understanding by some in company who and what he was, thought he had got a companion, that he might freely jest at and play upon: but his jests were so retorted back upon him, that he, swearing a great oath, said, I thought I had met with a silly fellow, but now I see he is either a foolish scholar, or a learned fool.

He took much pains, says the same manuscript, with possessed persons: yet seldom or never without the help and assistance of some of his brethren: and so freed many from their troublesome guests, and did much good. He laboured about ten or eleven years upon the mission, in quality of a secular priest; and then in 1624 entered into the society of Jesus, to which he had an inclination ever after his making a spiritual exercise at Douay, under the direction of a father of that society. He did not go abroad, to make his noviceship; but retired only for two or three months into Essex, which time he employed in a spiritual retreat.

He was apprehended (says another manuscript in my hands, dated August 16, 1631,) once before his last apprehension, and imprisoned in Lancaster, but released afterwards upon pardon, with divers others. "Probably in 1622, when I find by Mr. Rushworth's historical collections, vol. I. p. 62. the king, in favour of the treaty of marriage then going forward with Spain, released a good many priests, and other catholics out of prison in and about London; and gave orders to the judges to do the like in their respective circuits." At that apprehension he was brought before Dr. Bridgman, bishop of Chester, where divers ministers were at supper with the bishop; who did all eat flesh, it being in Lent. Dr. Bridgman upon that occasion made his apology to Mr. Edmund for his eating flesh, saying he was old and weak, and was dispensed withal. But who dispenses with your lusty ministers there, said Mr. Edmund, for they have no such need? Both before and after supper the ministers were busy in disputing with Mr. Edmund; and one time divers of them urging him at once, he merrily said to the bishop, *turn all your dogs loose at once against me; and let us have a loose bait.* His second and last apprehension was a little before the summer assizes in 1628. What happened to him then, with the whole history of his trial and death, we shall set down word for word out of the printed relation of his martyrdom, printed in the following year.

This man "father Arrowsmith" performing his priestly functions in that country, where afterwards he was put to death; and being in labour amongst the rest to reduce a young man to a course of virtue, who was fallen both from God and himself; and having reproved him in particular for an incestuous marriage, &c. was so hated by him, that coming once to suspect to what place the priest repaired, he found means to discover him to a justice of peace "captain Rawsthorn" who dispatched his warrant for him, and so he was apprehended upon the highway. He was committed to the common gaol for not taking the oaths, and upon vehement suspicion also that he was a priest and jesuit. This happened this last summer, not long before the assizes, at which

‘ he was tried. At the entrance whereof sir Henry Yelverton coming
 ‘ to know that this prisoner was committed for this cause, and being
 ‘ the judge to whose turn it fell to sit upon life and death, he was not
 ‘ slack in laying hold of the occasion, and therefore the next morning
 ‘ being the 26th of August, he commanded him to be brought to the
 ‘ bar. The prisoner at that time was in conversation with some friends,
 ‘ and the under-keeper and sheriff’s men calling him, after a quick
 ‘ and unexpected manner, to go and present himself before the
 ‘ judge, he instantly and cheerfully put himself upon obedience, and
 ‘ said, God’s holy will be done : and so they conducted him to the bar
 ‘ amongst the felons and other malefactors.

‘ As soon as judge Yelverton set eye upon him, he sent to his col-
 ‘ league “ Sir James Whitlock ” desiring his assistance in that service—and
 ‘ the jury being called for this trial, judge Yelverton began, sirrah, are
 ‘ you a priest ? the soldier of Christ making the sign upon himself of his
 ‘ captain’s standard, which is the cross, gave this answer, I would to
 ‘ God I were worthy. The judge repeated the same question, and he
 ‘ made this second answer, I would I were. Then the judge asked
 ‘ him, are you then no priest ? to which the prisoner was silent. So
 ‘ that the judge addressed himself to the jury, and said, *you may plainly*
 ‘ *see he is a priest ? I warrant you he would not for all England deny*
 ‘ *his order.* After this a minister “ Leigh or Lee ” who sate as a justice
 ‘ of peace upon the bench, and who formerly had had some knowledge
 ‘ of the priest, went to whisper in the judge’s ear ; and then shortly after
 ‘ began to revile the prisoner aloud, declaring *what a seducer he was,*
 ‘ *and that if some order were not taken with him he would make half*
 ‘ *Lancashire papists.* By way of answer to the minister “ and to the
 ‘ judge, who told him he could say nothing for his religion,” the pri-
 ‘ soner humbly moved that he might be suffered to defend his faith in
 ‘ disputation ; which he doubted not by God’s grace to perform against
 ‘ any who would oppose him. The judge without delay stifled that pro-
 ‘ position, and told him, that his doctrine could not be maintained ; but
 ‘ that belike he desired that they of his own religion should hear him
 ‘ talk. To which the prisoner replied, *that he would not only defend it*
 ‘ *in words, but would be glad to seal it with his blood.* The judge told
 ‘ him then, after an insulting and savage manner, *that he should die,*
 ‘ *and see his bowels burn before his face.* And you, my lord, said the
 ‘ prisoner, *must die too.*

‘ At this the judge was much enraged, and then shortly commanded
 ‘ him to answer directly, how he could justify his going beyond the seas,
 ‘ and taking the order of priesthood upon him in disobedience to the
 ‘ king’s laws ? To which the prisoner made this reply, if any man can
 ‘ lawfully accuse me, I stand ready here to answer him. But of his
 ‘ being a priest no proof at all was brought, and only a servant belonging
 ‘ to the justice of peace, who had committed him, was there called, and
 ‘ he swore, *that the prisoner persuaded him to be a catholic, and told*
 ‘ *him that the religion now professed in England was heretical ; and that*
 ‘ *it began but in Luther’s time :* and a youth of twelve years of age or
 ‘ thereabouts, a son to that same justice, affirmed, though without oath,
 ‘ that the prisoner would have withdrawn him from protestancy.

‘ The prisoner hearing this, humbly begged leave to speak ; which
‘ being granted, he made a low reverence to the bench, and then began
‘ to this effect : my lords, as I was travelling in this country, that very
‘ man, as I take it, rushed forth upon me by a hill-side, with a drawn
‘ sword in his hand. His apparel was mean, but he was on horseback.
‘ I made as much haste from him as I could, but yet being a weak and
‘ sickly man, he forced me in the end to the moss, where I left my
‘ horse ; and then I fled with all the speed I could use, but yet that
‘ could not be great in regard I was loaden, both with heavy cloaths and
‘ books, and other things. At length he came up to me at a moss ditch,
‘ and struck at me, who had no other defence but a little walking stick,
‘ and a dagger which I drew not : and as for the stick he cut it close off
‘ at the hand by the blow he gave me, and did me withal some little
‘ hurt. I asked him then what his meaning was ? and whether he in-
‘ tended to take my purse and my life ? he answered, that perhaps he
‘ would : and then I fled again from him, but he took me quickly : and
‘ then came in this very youth, who hath offered to give evidence against
‘ me, and some others also to assist him. They used me very unwor-
‘ thily, and carried me first to an alehouse, and searched me to my very
‘ skin, after a barbarous manner, and offered some such other indig-
‘ nities as modesty forbids me to relate : but therein I hindered them the
‘ best I could, and that done they fell to drink ; and so they consumed
‘ nine shillings of my money in one hour : And they told me, the justice
‘ himself, by whose warrant they had apprehended me, was there in
‘ person : but that I know not how to believe. Upon these occasions,
‘ my lords, I began to find fault with this man’s wicked and rude be-
‘ haviour, who seemed to be the ringleader of the rest ; and I besought
‘ him for Jesus’ sake to give over his disorderly life, his drinking, swear-
‘ ing, dissolute talking, and all those other things, whereby he might
‘ offend Almighty God. Upon my word, and upon my life, this, or to
‘ this effect is all that I said to him. Let him look on me, and gainsay
‘ it if he can. As for that youth, I deny not to have told him, that I
‘ hoped when he came to riper years, he would look better into himself,
‘ and become a true catholic : for that, and that alone, would be the
‘ means to save his soul : to which he made no answer at all : and I hope,
‘ my lords, that neither they, nor any other, can prove an ill thing
‘ against me.

‘ Upon this the aforesaid justice of peace began bitterly to inveigh
‘ against him, declaring, *how dangerous a seducer he was, and earnestly*
‘ *desiring that he might find no favour : for he feared that if ever he got*
‘ *his liberty again he would do him some mischief.* At this the prisoner
‘ could not chuse but smile ; and indeed his usual countenance was in-
‘ clined that way. But now upon this occasion both the judges told
‘ him, that he was a saucy fellow, who knew no better manners than to
‘ laugh and flout at them who sate there in judgment for the king. But
‘ he who thought of nothing less than deriding them, besought them not
‘ to think so ill of him ; and then he cast himself upon his knees, and
‘ besought Almighty God to *bless the king, the honourable council, that*
‘ *honourable bench, and all that company there : humbly beseeching God*
‘ *of his infinite mercy to confound and root out heresy, that so we might*

‘ *be all of one religion.* To this judge Yelverton replied, with much
‘ *fury, look you, gentlemen of the jury, how he wishes God to confound*
‘ *us all, and root out heresy, by which he means our religion.*

‘ The prisoner was then taken from the bar, with command that he
‘ should be put in some dark place, where he might have neither light
‘ nor company to come to him: and when the keeper said, that he had
‘ no such place, he was bidden to put him in the worst he had.

‘ Whilst he was so remaining there, the judge lost no time in de-
‘ vising what indictment he might form against him.—At length he re-
‘ solved to draw up two indictments against him, one for being a priest
‘ and a jesuit, upon the testimony of a mother, and her incestuous son,
‘ who wrote thereof to the justice, when the priest was first examined;
‘ the other for being a persuader in religion, which had no other ground
‘ than the oath which the justice’s man took against him there at the bar,
‘ and the accusation of that youth, who affirmed (but yet without oath)
‘ that he would fain have perverted him from his religion. The business
‘ being thus prepared, the prisoner was brought again to the bar, where
‘ judge Yelverton was sitting then alone.

‘ And when upon these indictments, and the evidence which before
‘ had been given, the jury had found him guilty of high treason; the
‘ judge rose up, as the manner is, and asked him, *what he could say for*
‘ *himself, why he should not die according to the law.* The prisoner did
‘ instantly lift up his eyes and hands towards heaven, and made no an-
‘ swer at all to that question; but in silence expected the event. And
‘ then the judge gave sentence upon him in the usual form. The pri-
‘ soner as soon as he had heard this sentence pronounced, fell down
‘ upon his knees, and bowing his head very low, sounded forth *Deo*
‘ *gratias* with a loud voice; and then in English, *God be thanked.* As
‘ the jailor was carrying him thence to prison, the sheriff brought ex-
‘ press command from the judge, that they should load him with the
‘ greatest and heaviest irons in the castle; which being presently put
‘ upon his legs, he was not well able to go; but as he could he did, and
‘ in the way recited the psalm *Miserere*, in so audible a voice, that
‘ many heard him. When he was come into the prison they lodged him
‘ in a little dark hole, where he could not well lie down; but was forced
‘ to sit, with leaning only upon a bolster, which was then cast in; and
‘ so he continued in his clothes, with heavy bolts on his legs, from Tues-
‘ day about one or two of the clock, till Thursday about twelve, when
‘ he was fetched out to execution. He was also watched day and night
‘ by three or four of the sheriff’s men; for so the judge had com-
‘ manded; as also that, upon the forfeiture of 100l. no man should be
‘ suffered to speak with him. It is thought that in all that time he had
‘ taken very little sustenance, if he had any; for some that saw him
‘ bowelled, averred, that there was nothing at all in his guts but wind,
‘ and not any one drop of urine in his bladder.

‘ But notwithstanding this strict charge that none of his friends
‘ should speak with him, the minister “Lee,” who had so bitterly in-
‘ veighed against him before the judge, had privilege enough to go to
‘ him: and so he did once or twice; and his errand was to dispute;
‘ but nobody forsooth must be present. The prisoner refused that offer,

‘ since it must be subject to that condition ; as fearing, lest under colour
 ‘ thereof, some slanders might be raised against him after his death.—
 ‘ Some of the minister’s disciples seemed to be scandalized, for that he
 ‘ had refused so public an offer of disputation as was made by the pri-
 ‘ soner at the bar, and that now he would seek to go and dispute with
 ‘ him in private. But the minister and such as were most confident
 ‘ with him, affirmed against all such surmises, that the priest was a
 ‘ silly fellow, &c. though indeed he was very well known to be a man
 ‘ both of ready wit and solid judgment, and a grounded scholar, which
 ‘ some of them had well found when he had been apprehended some few
 ‘ years before.

‘ In the mean time this happy prisoner, in his close dark cell, em-
 ‘ ploys all his thoughts towards the making of his passage into a better
 ‘ world. The judge would have him die a day before the other con-
 ‘ demned persons, a thing unusual at assizes. But his lordship’s zeal
 ‘ must be made appear, who was also pleased to look on out of a win-
 ‘ dow at the execution, &c. On Thursday therefore the 28th of Au-
 ‘ gust, word was brought to the happy man, by the high sheriff, that
 ‘ he must die within four hours after, to whom he said with great devo-
 ‘ tion, *I beseech my Redeemer to make me worthy of it!*—The judge
 ‘ commanded that it should be done about noon, when men were most
 ‘ likely to be at dinner. But howsoever it fell out—the whole place of
 ‘ his execution was covered with great multitudes of people of all sorts,
 ‘ ages, sexes, and religions, expecting the end of this tragedy. And
 ‘ when the keeper delivered his prisoner to the sheriff, there was scarce
 ‘ a man or woman left at home either to take their dinners, or to keep
 ‘ their shops.

‘ As he was carried through the castle-yard, there was a reverend
 ‘ and worthy priest, his fellow-prisoner, “ Mr. Southworth,” who had
 ‘ been condemned for his function a year before, and stood then re-
 ‘ prieved, who shewed himself out of a great window : and the blessed
 ‘ man (who was now on his way to the hurdle) no sooner saw his face,
 ‘ but he lifted up his hands towards him, with great humility for abso-
 ‘ lution, (for this was the sign whereof they were both agreed before)
 ‘ and so that priest absolved the other in sight of the people. Then he
 ‘ was brought to the castle-gates, where a catholic gentleman embraced
 ‘ him straitly, and kissed him tenderly, till the high sheriff made him
 ‘ be removed by force. Then was the blessed man laid and bound upon
 ‘ the hurdle, but with his head towards the horse’s tail, “ for greater
 ‘ ignominy.” ‘ He was dragged through the streets to the gallows,
 ‘ which was near a quarter of a mile from the castle, no friend being
 ‘ able to come near him, by reason of the sheriff’s halberds and ser-
 ‘ vants, but only some ministers were admitted for the increase of his
 ‘ torment. The executioner went close before the horse and hurdle,
 ‘ with a club in his hand in a kind of barbarous triumph, and the
 ‘ blessed man being then bound on the hurdle, held two papers between
 ‘ his hands, which were called, *duæ claves cœli*, the one of them con-
 ‘ taining an act of the love of God, and the other of contrition, which
 ‘ he used for the encrease of his devotion.

‘ Drawing now near the gallows, the horse and hurdle were stayed ;

where the old limping minister, who hath been mentioned so often before, shewed him a huge and terrible fire, with a caldron boiling, so hot and high, that no man was able to stand near it; and he spake thus to him, *look you, Mr. Rigby, "for this was the name by which F. Arrowsmith was indicted," what is provided for your death: will you conform yourself yet, and enjoy the mercy of the king?* The blessed man looked mildly on him, and said: *good sir, tempt me no more; the mercy which I look for is in heaven, through the death and passion of my Saviour Jesus; and I most humbly beseech him to make me worthy of this death.* They dragged him then to the ladder's foot, where being untied he prayed about a quarter of an hour upon his knees; but the sheriff bidding him then make haste, he replied, *God's will be done,* and so kissing the ladder he most undauntedly went up.

During the time of his prayer at the ladder's foot, he often repeated these words, as he had also done upon the hurdle: *I freely offer thee my death, O sweet Jesus, in satisfaction for my sins; and I wish this little blood of mine may be a sacrifice for them.* The old minister then took him short, and said, *you attribute nothing to Christ's merits and passion.* But he instantly replied, *Oh, sir, say not so: Christ's merits and passion are always pre-supposed.*—As he was ascending the ladder, he desired all catholics to pray both with him, and for him, in this last conflict. The minister untruly made answer, that there were none, and that he would pray for him. But the blessed man replied thus, *I neither desire your prayers, nor will pray with you; and if it be true which you say, that there are no catholics here, I wish I might die as many deaths as there are people in this place, upon condition that they were all catholics.* With that he prayed for his majesty, and commended to Almighty God the state of this kingdom, and especially all his persecutors, whom he freely forgave, desiring also forgiveness of whomsoever he had offended. Then going up yet higher on the ladder, he farther spoke to this effect. You gentlemen, who are come hither to see my end, bear witness with me that I die a constant Roman catholic, and for Jesus Christ's sake: let not my death be a hindrance to your well-doing, and going forward in the catholic religion, but rather an encouragement therein: for Jesus' sake have a care of your souls, than which nothing is more precious; and become members of the true church, as you tender your salvation; for hereafter that alone will do you good. I beseech you request my brethren, for his sake who redeemed us all, to be careful to supply my want and insufficiency, as I hope they will. Nothing doth so much grieve me as this England, which, *I pray God soon convert.* He prayed then a little while out of a paper, and so pulled his cap over his eyes expecting to be turned off.

But the tempter had not yet done with him. Sir, said Mr. Lee, *I pray you accept the king's mercy, conform yourself, and take the oath, and you shall live: good sir, you shall live; I would fain have you live.* Here is one come now from the judge to offer you mercy; *you shall live if you will conform yourself to our religion.* The valiant champion of Christ, pulling up his cap from over his eyes, said, *O sir,*

‘ *how far am I from that? tempt me no more; I will not do it, in no case, on no condition.* Then with undaunted courage he addressed himself to the sheriff, persuading him and all the rest to take care of their souls; till some ministers about him said muttering by, as in the name of the rest, we shall look to ourselves well enough. Others, who were farther off, interrupted him by crying out, no more of that, no more of that: away with him, away with him. So pulling his cap the second time over his eyes, and fixing himself in most fervent prayer to God, he was cast off the ladder, and was suffered to hang till he was dead. The last words which were heard out of his mouth were, *Bone Jesu.* Being dead he was cut down, bowelled and quartered. His head was set upon a stake or pole amongst the pinnacles of the castle, and his quarters were hanged on four several places thereof.

‘ Divers protestants, beholders of this bloody spectacle, wished their souls with his.—Others, wished they had never come there. Others said, *it was a barbarous act to use men so for their religion, &c.* The judge departing the next day out of the town, was observed to turn up and down, or rather prance his horse, and looking towards the martyr’s head, and not thinking it to be conspicuous enough, sent back a command to have it set higher by six yards than any of the pinnacles.’ So far the printed account of F. Arrowsmith published soon after his death.

His life published in 1737, adds from other ancient memoirs, that the judge who condemned him, sitting at supper on the 23d of January, 1929-30, felt a blow, as if some one had struck him on the head: upon which, he fell in a rage against the servant that waited behind him; who protested that he had not struck him, nor did he see any one strike him: a little after he felt another blow like the first; and then in great terrors he was carried to bed, and died the next morning.

The same life relates, that F. Arrowsmith during his confinement reconciled to the church one of the felons, who was executed on the 29th of August, the day after the martyrdom of the holy man; and that he died very penitent and constant in the catholic religion, though his life was offered him, if he would have returned back to protestancy.

‘ There is a letter extant,’ (says the ancient printed relation of F. Arrowsmith’s death) of this blessed man, the first he wrote after he was imprisoned, which hath these words. *All particulars did so cooperate to my apprehension and bringing hither, that I can easily discern more than an ordinary providence of Almighty God therein. And surely it will appear, that whatsoever followed in his story could not but be guided by the like Providence, if these particulars be considered; upon which I will here reflect in a word. First, the known clemency of his majesty, who hath professed, that he likes not to draw blood in case of religion; and the constant practice of the same ever since his inauguration to this crown; so that I make myself sure, and it is since known to be most certain, that this act of the judge was no way encouraged by the king’s majesty. Secondly, when the blessed man was flying from his persecutors at the time of his apprehension, he was extraordinarily well mounted; and yet whatsoever desire he had,*

‘ and diligence he used, it was not possible to put his horse to any speed.
 ‘ Thirdly, a kinsman of his own, whom he had in nature of a servant,
 ‘ well known to be a stout man, forsook him and fled away, when the
 ‘ least resistance might have preserved him. And fourthly, when he
 ‘ was studying his course of divinity in the seminary of Douay, he had
 ‘ twice in several sicknesses been even in the very agony of death, and
 ‘ had twice received extreme unction, but yet was delivered at those
 ‘ times, and reserved to this most glorious and victorious end.”—F. Ar-
 rowsmith suffered at Lancaster, August the 28th, 1628. *Ætatis* 43.
Missionis 15. *Societatis* 5.

161. * *Richard Herst, Layman.*

THE day after father Arrowsmith suffered, a lay-catholic named Richard Herst was also executed in the same place; condemned by the same judge, under the colour of wilful murder; but in truth, and in the sight of God, for the profession of the catholic faith. His case is thus related by the same author, from whom we have transcribed our account of the death of Mr. Arrowsmith.

‘ Richard Herst being a recusant convict, warrants went out to arrest him and carry him before the bishop of Chester. This warrant
 ‘ was put into the hands of one Christopher Norcross, a pursuivant belonging to that bishop; and he associated one Wilkinson and one Dewhurst, as assistants to himself in that service. This latter, besides his
 ‘ meanness, was of so infamous a life, as that at the self-same time the
 ‘ officer of the parish had a warrant in his hands for the apprehending
 ‘ and carrying him to the house of correction for his lewdness. Herst
 ‘ was then actually holding the plough, and a youth belonging to him
 ‘ drove it, and a maid of his was leading a harrow in the same field.
 ‘ Norcross and the other two advanced towards him with the warrant:
 ‘ and Wilkinson struck at him with a staff: whereupon the maid run
 ‘ hastily towards the house, crying out, that they were killing her master in the field: and hereupon both herself and her mistress, a man-
 ‘ servant and one Bullen (who happened to be at the house at that time)
 ‘ were all coming on to help Herst. When Wilkinson and Dewhurst
 ‘ perceived this, they made towards that new company, and Wilkinson
 ‘ struck the servant down, as also the other who came with him. In
 ‘ this confusion the maid gave Dewhurst a blow on the head, who
 ‘ partly on that occasion, partly also to apply himself close to Wilkinson,
 ‘ made more haste than good speed, and ran so disorderly over the
 ‘ hard plowed lands, as that he fell down, and broke his leg. Of which
 ‘ hurt growing worse and worse, and the same striking up into his
 ‘ body, being far from good remedies, he died about the end of thirteen days: before which time the hurt of his head was grown quite
 ‘ whole; and the poor wretch declared at his death, both how much it
 ‘ afflicted him that he had been employed in such a business, and that he
 ‘ came to his death by no other hurt but his fall, which was verified afterwards by the oath of two witnesses. And it is both true and certainly
 ‘ known (and nothing was so much as offered to prove the contrary)

* From the relation of his death, published in 1630.

‘ that at the time when the maid gave Dewhurst that blow upon the head, Herst was distant both from him and her above thirty yards, and that withal he gave no direction or encouragement at all that any such thing should be done.’

Thus stood the case : and how this should be made a wilful murder in Herst, it is hard to conceive : yet so were matters managed, the same judge Yelverton (who has been lately spoken of in the story of father Arrowsmith) especially concurring thereunto, that, contrary to all shew of truth and justice, the man was condemned to die, and was executed August 29. It is true, his life was promised him if he would take the oath ; but he refused to live upon any such conditions as were inconsistent with his conscience. The day before he was to suffer, he was called upon to go with the other prisoners to church to hear a sermon : but he assured them, that if he had a thousand lives he would rather lose them all than go willingly there : but the high-sheriff ordered him to be dragged thither by force, whilst he on his part made all the resistance that he could, though to his very great hurt ; being trailed upon the ground by his legs over a ragged and stony way for 20 or 30 rods from the prison to the church. When he was there he cast himself upon the ground, and thrust his fingers into his ears, that he might not hear their doctrine. But when he was to go back again to prison, he went very merrily, telling some catholics whom he met in the way, *they have tortured my body, but I thank God they have not hurt my soul.*

Two of his friends found means to see him that evening and stayed with him in prison till midnight, in prayer and spiritual conversation, who also returned to him the next morning. To them he seemed to be very desirous to be dissolved, and to be with Christ : for he would be often saying, *they stay long : when do you think they will come ?* As soon as the sheriff was come to the prison, which was about one o'clock in the afternoon, to take all the prisoners out to execution, he read the dead-warrant, wherein all their names who were to die were inserted, and among the rest that of Mr. Arrowsmith, at the hearing of whose name Mr. Herst said, *you have already sent him to heaven ; and I hope I shall not be long after him, for I trust much in his prayers.* And looking up towards the top of the castle, where the priest's head was placed, the officer asking what he looked at ? *I look,* said he, *at the head of that blessed martyr, whom you have sent before, to prepare the way for us :* meaning himself and the other who had been reconciled in prison. In the way to execution, he gave some alms according to his small ability, as he had done before to the poor prisoners in the castle : and being met in the street by Mr. King the vicar of the town, who questioned him about his faith, he answered, *I believe according to the faith of the holy catholic church.* The vicar demanded further of him, how he meant to be saved ? He answered with his usual cheerfulness, not by your religion, Mr. King. But he further asking him, whether he meant to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ ? He sharply replied, will you be accounted a divine, and ask me such a question ?

In the way to execution he carried in his hand a picture of Christ crucified, on which he had his eyes fixed ; and frequently repeated to himself short ejaculatory prayers. When he came in sight of the gal-

lows, he said, *gallows, thou dost not affright me*; and coming to the place he kissed the post. Some few ministers were there to importune him again in point of religion, but he regarded them not. The sheriff telling him, he was to be the first man to die, he most earnestly and devoutly recommended himself to the merciful hands of God; begging the prayers and intercession of the blessed virgin, his angel guardian, and all the saints, especially St. John Baptist, it being the day of his decollation. And looking up at the executioner, who was busy in fastening the rope, but knew not readily how to do it right, he merrily called him by his name, and said, *Tom, I think I must come and help thee*. Such was his courage and serenity of mind upon the very brink of death. Then ascending the ladder, after divers short speeches of devotion, and repeating three or four times the holy names of Jesus and Mary, he was turned off, and so passed from this mortal life to a happy immortality, August 29, 1628.

The following declaration of his case was written by himself not long before he died.

‘Whereas I have been an humble petitioner to his excellent majesty for a pardon for the death of one Henry Dewhurst, and his gracious pleasure was, that I should have a legal trial before that my pardon could pass; and trusting in the innocency of my cause yielded my body, and put myself in trial, before judge Yelverton; who did inform the jury that I was a recusant, and had resisted the bishop’s authority; and that it must be found *murder for an example*. And whereas the jury, after learning the matter, was not willing to find the murder in me; three of them, whereof the foreman of the jury was one, went to the judge to his chamber after dinner, who took the foreman by the hand, and told him they must find it murder for an example. This did one of the jury testify unto me when I came from the bar, and did report to divers of my friends; and he was one of the three that went to the judge. And now whereas the judge hath certified my lord keeper, that it was so foul a murder as he did never hear of; upon which certificate my pardon is stayed, and my life I am certain to lose for the fact: wherefore for the satisfaction of the world, and the clearing of my friends who have sued for my pardon, and especially for the queen’s excellent majesty, who hath been an earnest suitor for my life; the man had no hurt but only on his leg, which was found to be the cause of his death; and he confessed on his death-bed, that he broke it himself; and this was given in evidence before the coroner, as may appear by the coroner’s verdict, and the examination of witnesses taken before Sir Ralph Ashton and the coroner, which verdict and examination will appear contrary to the judge’s certificate. And that the man had no mortal wound but only in his leg, and that I never gave him stroke, nor was within five or six rods of him when he received his hurt; all this will appear to be true by examinations and depositions taken before Sir Ralph Ashton and the coroner, which was all the evidence that came against me at the assizes. All this I declare only for the satisfaction of the world, &c. All this I take on my death, as I hope to be saved, and for no hope of life.’ So far the declaration. The like is found in a letter written by him about the same time to a person of honour.

He wrote also three letters to his ghostly father a little before his death, in the first he delivers himself in the following words:

Dear and reverend sir,

‘ I received your letter with news of death, at which I am not much dismayed, I thank my Lord and Saviour ; the more malicious my enemies are, the greater is my comfort, for I do constantly believe that my religion is the cause of their malice ; and my greatest desire is to offer my blood in so good a cause. And although my flesh be timorous and fearful, I yet find great comfort in spirit, in casting myself upon my sweet Saviour with a most fervent love, when I consider what he hath done and suffered for me ; and my greatest desire is to suffer with him : and I had rather chuse to die a thousand deaths than to possess a kingdom, and live in mortal sin ; for there is nothing so hateful to me as sin, and that only for the love of my Saviour. I do most constantly believe that he hath afflicted me to save me ; and I trust I shall die truly humbled, for the which I desire your good prayers, that I may persevere to the end ; for of myself I can do nothing without his grace.’

In the second he writes thus : ‘ Now I am preparing for my soul, for the which I most humbly desire your good prayers, and likewise I desire you to commend my case to the prayers of some good priests and catholics ; and I do freely offer myself into the hands of my sweet Saviour, neither desiring life nor death, but according to his blessed will, hoping that he will dispose all things for the good of my soul.’

In the third, written upon the very day of his execution, he speaks thus : ‘ Dear and reverend sir, now I take my last leave : I am now dying, and am as willing to die as ever I was to live, I thank my Lord and Saviour, who, I trust, will never fail me. I have comfort in Christ Jesus, and his blessed mother, my good angel, and all the blessed saints ; and I am much comforted in the valiant and triumphant martyr that is gone before me, and I do much trust in his good prayers. How I have been used you will hear, and likewise what I had offered to me if I would have taken the oath. I hope my friends will truly understand that my greatest desire is to suffer ; and I would I had as many lives to offer as I have committed sins. Now, dear sir, prepare yourself also to suffer, and animate your ghostly children in suffering. Once again I desire you to say, and to procure some masses for my sinful soul ; and if it please God to receive me into his kingdom, I shall not be unmindful of you, and of all my good friends. I pray you remember my poor children, and encourage my friends about my debts ; and let it appear, that my greatest worldly care is to satisfy them as far as my means will extend. Once again adieu : I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ Jesus. I trust we shall once meet in heaven, to our eternal comfort : now I take my last leave this execution day, about eight of the clock, and commit you to Christ Jesus.’

These letters were published, with the relation of his death, in 1630. He left behind him six young children, and his wife big with child.

From this year, till 1641, I find no more blood shed for religious matters, though as to other penalties, they were frequently inflicted upon priests and other catholics; severe proclamations were issued out against them, heavy fines laid upon them, and the prisons filled with them; insomuch that in the compass of one year alone, there were at least twenty six priests of divers orders, seized and committed to that one prison alone called the Clink; to speak nothing of those that were elsewhere confined.



In the year 1640, John Goodman, priest, was tried and condemned, on account of exercising his priestly functions; his case has something so particular in it, that though he was not executed, he deserves a place in these memoirs.

162. * *John Goodman, Priest, Confessor.*—1640.

JOHN Goodman was born in the diocese of Bangor, in North Wales, from whence he is called *Bangoriensis*, in the diary of Douay college. He was the son of William Goodman; was brought up in the protestant religion, and sent to the university of Oxford, where he spent a long time in his studies, and was at length made a minister after the protestant manner. But growing dissatisfied with his religion, by the remonstrances of some friends, he left both his gown and his country; and going beyond the seas, was, at Paris, received into the church by the Reverend Mr. Richard Ireland, then residing there; and by him recommended to Dr. Kellison, the president of Douay college, where he arrived Feb. the 12th, 1621, and was admitted amongst the alumni of the college. In the year 1622, September the 24th, I find him presented to the four lesser orders; which he received at Cambray, from the arch-bishop of that see. After which time he continued studying divinity in the college, till May the 6th, 1624; when he went from Douay to St. Omer's, in order to be received into the Society of Jesus, and to make his noviceship at Watten. But whether his health would not suffer him to go on, or what other reason it might be, the sequel of his history ever represents him as a secular priest. I have not found where he finished his studies, or where he was ordained priest; for I meet with his name no more, in the Douay diary or catalogues.

In England, after his coming over upon the mission, he behaved himself in such manner, as to be remarkable for his zeal; so that William Prynne, in his *Royal Popish Favourite*, p. 23, calls him *a noted priest*. He was apprehended in 1635, but discharged, upon giving bond for his appearance; of which the same author loudly complains, in a small tract, entitled, *Hidden works of darkness brought to public light*. He was taken up again in 1639, and committed to the Gatehouse, from whence he was again released by a warrant from secretary Windebank, September the 17th, 1639. But was retaken not long after, and brought to his trial and condemned in the beginning of 1640.

* From the Douay diary, and Mr. Nalson (a protestant historian) in his *Impartial Collections*, vol. 1. p. 738, &c.

The following account is taken from Mr. Nalson's Impartial Collections, vol. 1. p. 738.

Monday, January the 25th.—Mr. Hide reports from the conference with the lords, the king's message about Goodman the priest, and the expulsion of the priests and jesuits, as follows :

His majesty having informed himself by the recorder, of the names and natures of the crimes of the persons convicted at the last sessions ; and there finding that John Goodman was condemned for being in orders of a priest *merely*, and was acquitted of the charge of perverting the king's people in their belief, and had never been condemned or banished before : his majesty is tender in matters of blood in cases of this nature, in which queen Elizabeth and king James have been *often* merciful : but to secure his people, that this man should do no more hurt, he is willing that he be imprisoned or banished, as their lordships shall advise ; and if he return into the kingdom, to be put to execution without delay. And he will take such fit course for the expulsion of other priests and jesuits, as he shall be counselled unto by your lordships, &c.

The effect of the aforesaid conference of the lords and commons was, that the lords at their petition resolved to concur with the commons in a joint remonstrance to his majesty, both that Goodman might be executed, and the laws put in execution against all other priests and jesuits.

Friday, January the 29th.—This day the two houses waited upon his majesty with their remonstrance, which the lord keeper, Littleton, delivered to the king, and was in the following words :

May it please your Majesty,

Your loyal subjects the lords and commons humbly represent to your gracious consideration, that jesuits and priests ordained by authority from the see of Rome, remaining in this realm, by a statute made in the 27th of queen Elizabeth, are declared traitors, and to suffer as traitors.

That it is enacted in the first year of king James, that all statutes made in the time of queen Elizabeth against priests and jesuits be put in execution : and for a farther assurance of the due execution of these laws, the statute of the third year of king James invites men to the discovery of the offenders, by rewarding them with a considerable part of the forfeiture of the recusant's estate : so that the statute of queen Elizabeth is not only approved, but by the judgments of several parliaments in the time of king James of happy memory adjudged fit and necessary to be put in execution. That the putting these laws in execution tendeth not only to the preservation and advancement of the true religion established in this kingdom, but also the safety of your majesty's person, and the security of the government, which were the principal causes of the making of the laws against priests and jesuits, &c.

Then they proceed to inform his majesty, that some priests and jesuits had been executed in the time of queen Elizabeth, and king James. That the reprieve of John Goodman the priest had given great

‘ disgust to the city of London. That it was found that the said Goodman had been twice formerly committed and discharged ; that his residence afterwards in or about London, was in absolute contempt of his majesty’s proclamation : that he hath been sometime a minister of the church of England, and consequently he is an apostate ; and they humbly desire that a speedy course may be taken for the due execution of the laws against priests and jesuits. And lastly, that Goodman the priest be left to the justice of the laws.

‘ Wednesday, February the 3d.—This day the two houses were ordered to attend his majesty in the banquetting-house at Whitehall, where he delivered himself in these words.

‘ Having taken into my serious consideration, the late remonstrance of the houses of parliament, I give you this answer.

‘ I take in good part your care of the true religion established in this kingdom, from which I will never depart. It is against my mind that popery or superstition should any way increase ; and I will restrain the same by causing the laws to be put in execution. I am resolved to provide against the jesuits and priests, by setting forth a proclamation with all speed, commanding them to depart the kingdom within one month, &c.

‘ Lastly, concerning John Goodman the priest ; I will let you know the reason why I reprieved him. That, as I am informed, neither Queen Elizabeth, nor my father did ever *avow* that any priest in their time was executed merely for religion, which to me seems to be this particular case. Yet seeing that I am pressed by both houses to give way to his execution ; because I will avoid the inconveniency of giving so great a discontent to my people, as I conceive this mercy may produce ; therefore I remit this particular cause to both houses. But I desire them to take into their consideration the inconveniency which, as I conceive, may fall upon my subjects, and other protestants abroad ; especially since it may seem to other states to be a severity ; which having thus represented, I think myself discharged from all ill consequences that may ensue upon the execution of this person.’ So far the king.

The next day his majesty communicated to the house of lords a petition sent to him by Mr. Goodman, of the following tenour.

To the king’s most excellent majesty.

The humble petition of John Goodman condemned, humbly sheweth,

‘ That whereas your majesty’s petitioner hath been informed of a great discontent in many of your majesty’s subjects, at the gracious mercy your majesty was freely pleased to shew unto your petitioner, by suspending the execution of the sentence of death pronounced against your petitioner, for being a Roman priest ; these are humbly to beseech your majesty, rather to remit your petitioner to their mercy, than to let him live the subject of so great discontent in your people against your majesty : for it hath pleased God to give me the grace to desire with the prophet, *that if this storm be raised for my sake, I may be cast into the sea, that others may avoid the tempest.*

‘ This is, most sacred sovereign, the petition of him that should
 ‘ esteem his blood well shed, to cement the breach between your
 ‘ majesty and your subjects upon this occasion.’ *Ita testor,*

JOHN GOODMAN.

This uncommon greatness of mind, as it very much moved the king, so it seems to have softened the parliament into some sentiments of humanity towards the prisoner. For certain it is, that we hear no more of this affair; only we find, that Mr. Goodman, instead of a more quick dispatch at Tyburn, was permitted to linger away in prison, by a more tedious martyrdom; and that he died a confessor of Christ on the common side of Newgate, in some part of the year 1645.

1641.—This year two priests were put to death for the exercise of their functions, and divers others were sentenced to die. The first was

163. * *William Ward, alias Webster, Priest.*

WILLIAM Ward, whose true name was Webster, was born at Thornby, in Westmorland, and educated in the catholic religion. He performed his studies abroad in the English college at Douay, where I find him admitted to the college oath in 1605, and ordained priest, and sent upon the English mission in 1608. The best and fullest account that I have met with of this holy man is in a manuscript relation, written by a priest, who was his intimate acquaintance and ghostly child; only that he is in a mistake, when he affirms him to have been made priest in the English seminary at Rhemes; for the seminary had been removed from Rhemes to Douay fifteen years before Mr. Ward was made priest. The account of him sent by way of letter, is as follows:

Sir,

‘ In the way of an exact story I cannot undertake to tell you the
 ‘ entire life of Mr. William Webster, alias Ward, born at Thornby
 ‘ in Westmorland; but this I can say, that I had a perfect knowledge
 ‘ of the man for many years together, and had the happiness to be his
 ‘ ghostly child, divers years before myself was priest, and divers
 ‘ years after. He was made priest in the English seminary at
 ‘ Rhemes, in Champaigne, above forty years before his martyr-
 ‘ dom, and was ever known to be of an excellent spirit, exceed-
 ‘ ing zealous in God’s service; not only exemplary in himself, but
 ‘ exhorting others to exemplarity of life; and his zeal was so great in
 ‘ this kind, that he got the repute of a rigid ghostly father: and albeit
 ‘ many great persons made use of him in that way, nevertheless he
 ‘ yielded nothing to their greatness, but was rather more severe to
 ‘ them than to meaner persons; and however his plainness and round
 ‘ language did not always please them, yet his spirit was so good,
 ‘ that he made impression on their souls, even then when they would
 ‘ scarce lend him patient ears. And I have known many great per-
 ‘ sonages profess, that albeit they could not please him in conforming
 ‘ themselves to that religiousness in their lives which he required of

* From a manuscript relation, by a priest who calls himself Mr. Ward’s ghostly child, and from the Douay diary.

‘ them, nevertheless, they would rather make use of him for their
 ‘ ghostly father, and were better pleased with him in that way, than
 ‘ with any other that was less plain and more indulgent to them.

‘ It was ordinary with him to threaten those that were worldly in
 ‘ plain terms with hell fire, and to tell them, they must make a stricter
 ‘ account of their actions in the next world, than they did here;
 ‘ that heaven was not so cheap as they thought, but must be bought at
 ‘ a dearer rate than they seemed to value it at; that it was not easy to
 ‘ be saints in heaven, if we were not first saints here, and by a per-
 ‘ fect charity united to Almighty God.

‘ He did not use to preach set sermons, though his whole life was
 ‘ a continual preaching, but in confessions, wherein he spent most of
 ‘ his time, he would exhort much to virtue, and the love of God, and
 ‘ dissuade from vice and the vanity of the world; and seldom spared
 ‘ a threat of damnation, if the party were vain, as many of his peni-
 ‘ tents have told me themselves; and he gave this reason for it, that
 ‘ he found the fear of damnation to work stronger with worldlings for
 ‘ their repentance, than the better motive of the pure love of Almighty
 ‘ God.

‘ And however some men held him to be passionate, because his
 ‘ speech was earnest, and his face somewhat fiery upon any fervent
 ‘ speaking; yet those that knew he was truly *vir dolorum*, being in
 ‘ perpetual pain of two infirmities, which for many late years hung
 ‘ upon him, a corroding fistula, and an extremity of tooth-ach, never
 ‘ being free from the actual molestation of the one of these at least,
 ‘ and commonly afflicted with both at once in a high degree; and
 ‘ knowing that he had besides, in his soul, not only a perpetual fire
 ‘ of burning charity, but a passionate, yet holy hatred against sin,
 ‘ which made him with eagerness inveigh against sinners, according
 ‘ to that of the holy prophet, *Irascimini & nolite peccare*: those, I
 ‘ say, which knew this, were of a contrary opinion, and did not
 ‘ think the man to be so choleric as his hasty speech made others
 ‘ believe he was, but were edified at his spiritual zeal, to see it ex-
 ‘ ceed his corporal pain, and give him leave to take pains in repre-
 ‘ hending others, when he had more reason to have been indulgent to
 ‘ himself. And I do profess, that for my own particular, I had this
 ‘ opinion of his zeal, and pure intention in all his actions, that even
 ‘ when he did things which others conceived to be odd, I durst not
 ‘ but attribute it to a holy simplicity; and was much edified at many
 ‘ passages in his life, which I knew divers did not stick to laugh at,
 ‘ and make themselves merry withal. And whereas some censorious
 ‘ people presumed to accuse him of avarice, because his diet was ever
 ‘ spare, and his apparel homely, though he had means enough to wear
 ‘ good cloaths, and make better fare; yet this blessed man, the day
 ‘ before he died, purged himself of this aspersion, and made profession
 ‘ to a good poor catholic and friend of his, that the sole and true rea-
 ‘ son why he did wear no better cloaths, nor covet better diet than he
 ‘ used himself to, was only by reason he did in his own conscience
 ‘ not think himself worthy of better; and this he spake with such an
 ‘ edifying simplicity, as would have put a scruple into any man not to

‘ have believed him. Besides, the holy man was ever charitable to the
 ‘ poor, which argued no love in him to riches, and he left what he
 ‘ had gathered up to pious uses. It was admirable to see the austerity
 ‘ of this good man’s life, who, albeit he was never free from pain,
 ‘ and always observed a sparing diet, as was said before, whence he
 ‘ must of necessity be exceeding weak; nevertheless, he did with
 ‘ great rigour keep all vigils, embers, fridays throughout the year,
 ‘ and lent; insomuch that all the lent long he never eat whitemeat all
 ‘ his life-time, notwithstanding he was eighty years old and upwards.

‘ And this, amongst other his virtues, to me seemed rare, that
 ‘ in all the time I knew this holy man, I could never hear him relate
 ‘ any passage, or speak of any subject, but it either began or ended
 ‘ with a memory of Almighty God’s service, if his whole speech were
 ‘ not upon that theme; insomuch that it may truly be said of him,
 ‘ that his lamp of charity and love towards God was ever burning,
 ‘ and that no blast of human commerce was able to blow it out, but
 ‘ still it blazed, and gave light to those whose lamps were extinguish-
 ‘ ed, and many times lighted them again, by enkindling in their souls a
 ‘ devotion, whom if he found key-cold towards Almighty God’s
 ‘ service, yet he left them with an ardent desire to serve God better
 ‘ than they had done formerly. This to my own confusion and his
 ‘ honour hath often happened to myself, and I have heard divers
 ‘ others affirm the same; for the truth is, no man that would look
 ‘ fixedly upon him, and observe well his comportment, could go out
 ‘ of his company without much edification; so composed an aspect he
 ‘ had, so grave a speech, so religious a carriage, so incessant a zeal,
 ‘ that a man might see he had always God in his mind, and his own
 ‘ soul in his hand: *Anima mea in manibus meis semper*. As if every
 ‘ one of his thoughts, words and deeds, had been a matter that con-
 ‘ cerned his soul’s salvation, as in truth it was to him, and is to every
 ‘ one of us, if we reflect (as he did) well upon ourselves.

‘ It was remarkable to see how soon Almighty God was pleased
 ‘ to make trial of this his servant’s constancy. The holy man when
 ‘ he was sent in mission into England, for the conversion of souls,
 ‘ had the fortune, by contrary winds, to be landed in Scotland, as
 ‘ he was going to the northern part of England, and being upon sus-
 ‘ picion apprehended for a priest, was cast into the dungeon, where,
 ‘ for three years together, he did not see the sun, yet in this desolate
 ‘ place he continued a zealous and constant professor of his faith,
 ‘ and a stout confessor. After three years durance being released
 ‘ out of this dungeon, and coming into England, it was not long ere
 ‘ he was taken and put in prison again, insomuch that he had been
 ‘ in several prisons of the several counties of England; and as I
 ‘ have been credibly told, of forty and odd years that he was priest,
 ‘ he had been a prisoner about twenty of them at several times; and
 ‘ had been banished more than once or twice. Yet so the zeal of
 ‘ Almighty God had eaten up the man, that he would never leave
 ‘ exposing himself to danger of death for the gaining of souls to God’s
 ‘ holy truth, and the catholic religion.

‘ And it seems that he was by God’s singular providence ordained

' to die a martyr, who had lived so long so glorious a confessor. For
 ' some few days before he was taken and condemned to death, a ne-
 ' phew of his and a priest, being careful of his old uncle, and solicitous
 ' how to secure him in these dangerous times, came above fifty miles
 ' on purpose up to London, to convey his uncle into a private house
 ' in the country, where he might lie sheltered till the storm of per-
 ' secution was blown over, which the parliament had newly raised,
 ' banishing by proclamation all jesuits, priests, and semina^rists, mena-
 ' cing death to those that should be found in any of his majesty's domi-
 ' nions after the 7th of April 1641. But no persuasion of the nephew,
 ' no entreaty of any other friend, could prevail with the holy man to
 ' retire himself, whom almighty God it seems did more strongly per-
 ' suade to stay in London, out of zeal to his many penitents which
 ' were there. And what better proof that it was an holy instinct
 ' which made him stay, than that within few days after the blessed
 ' martyr was dogged by a pursuivant to his lodgings, and at eleven
 ' o'clock at night was taken out of his bed, carried to prison, arraign-
 ' ed, condemned, and executed, all within the space of eleven days.
 ' In brief, the remarkable virtues in this saint were profound humility,
 ' apostolical poverty, zeal of souls, holy simplicity, approved forti-
 ' tude, and perfect charity.

' *The manner of his taking, imprisonment, arraignment, condemnation,*
 ' *and going to execution.*

' He was apprehended on Thursday night about midnight, being the
 ' 15th of July 1641, in the house of one John Wollam, a nephew of
 ' his, and a poor catholic, by Thomas Mayhew, commonly called
 ' Mayo, a pursuivant, in virtue of a general warrant under the hand
 ' of the speaker of the house of commons, and by this Mayo was
 ' brought directly to the prison of Newgate, without any order from
 ' justice of peace or other officer that had power to commit him, where
 ' he remained till the sessions following, which began at the Old Bai-
 ' ley within six days after his imprisonment, viz. Wednesday the 21st
 ' of July.

' Upon Friday the 23d of July next ensuing, he was indicted
 ' and arraigned upon the statute of taking orders of priesthood by au-
 ' thority of the church of Rome. The evidence brought against him
 ' was this Mayo aforesaid, who first professed himself to have been a
 ' Roman catholic about 19 years past, then testified, that about the same
 ' time he had made his confession to this Mr. Ward, had absolution
 ' from him, heard his mass, and received the sacraments at his hands.
 ' And Sir Thomas Gardener, the recorder, demanding of Mayo what
 ' ornaments Mr. Ward had on when he said mass, the impudent fel-
 ' low being ready at his lie, said, he had on an albe, a stole, a mani-
 ' ple, a vestment, and such other things as belong to a priest; but
 ' as it seems the thing he affirmed was false, so he could not tell the
 ' colour or quality of the vestments.

' There were two more who pretended to give evidence against
 ' him, that he was a Roman priest; but the one of them said so little
 ' to the purpose, that it was not worth the noting, and so he who gave

me this relation, being present at the bar, doth not remember what it was, but affirms it was nothing to the purpose. The other witness testified, that about seven years since he had apprehended Mr. Ward, carried him to the Gatehouse, and took from him a spiritual book, wherein were his faculties from the see of Rome.

After these evidences given in by the three witnesses, the recorder asked Mr. Ward, and bid him answer directly, whether he was a priest or no? He answered, no man was bound to accuse himself, but required that it should be proved against him, if they desired to know the truth thereof, and then professed openly before the bench, that what Mayo had testified was most false; whereupon the recorder demanded of him if at least those faculties which had been taken about him, were his; and he answered, he knew of no such thing.

Nevertheless upon these evidences the jury found him guilty; and the same day in the afternoon, when the judges had dined, he was sent for from the prison to the bar, where the recorder pronounced sentence of death against him in the usual manner.

After this sentence he was brought back to Newgate, whither he went most cheerfully, and there prepared himself for his death, which was to be upon Monday following, being the 26th of July, 1641. And it was wonderful to see with what alacrity of countenance and speech he resigned himself unto the holy will of almighty God, professing an ardent desire to suffer for his sake, and declaring that if any one should attempt to procure his reprieve or pardon, he would hinder it if he could.

Upon Sunday, which was the day before he died, he desired conference with a priest in the same prison, which lasted for some hours, and was sometimes interrupted with tears of joy both in the one, and in the other; in which tears the holy martyr expressed his hearty desire of suffering for his blessed Saviour's sake, and so prettily intermingled his joy with sighs, as if his humility had told him, he was not worthy of so great a crown of his unworthy labours as was this of martyrdom, and ever expressed a fear to be deprived of his highest hopes, out of an unworthiness which he conceived in himself of so great an honour. And to all such as came that day to visit him, he expressed signs of an excessive joy, that he had lived so long as to come to this desired end.

The 26th of July 1641, which was the day of his suffering, being Monday, he said mass very early in the morning, with great devotion and comfort, administered the holy sacrament to some lay catholics which were his fellow-prisoners, and after thanksgiving, communicated to the priest that was with him the day before, certain things, which he desired should be executed after his death; and gave him some money, to be distributed amongst the poor catholics in prison, as also a twenty-shilling piece to give to Mr. Johnson, the master keeper of Newgate, whom he willed him to thank for his kind usage towards him.

And it was noted by all who came this morning to him, especially

' by the priest, that his countenance, which was ever grave, was at
 ' this instant more than ordinarily gracious and sweet, as if it had re-
 ' ceived an outward beauty from the inward grace which was then no
 ' doubt abundant in his soul. And as the priest and devout catholics
 ' who were with him in his chamber, had newly done preparing him
 ' for his journey to the gallows, by putting him on a clean cap, band,
 ' and cuffs, which were points of great finery in him that affected a
 ' contemptible attire (though then as going to his wedding, and so he
 ' was content to put on *vestes nuptiales*) instantly one of the keepers
 ' of the prison knocked at the door, to know if he was ready, for
 ' that the sledge was come for him; whereat the blessed man, as if
 ' he had listened for the glad tidings, made answer himself with a
 ' cheerful voice, saying, yes, I am ready. And within a short time
 ' after, another of the keepers came for him, and told him, he
 ' must go a little about by the leads, because though he had favour
 ' shewn him not to be lodged, after his condemnation, in the common
 ' dungeon, yet now that he was to go to execution, he must pass the
 ' ordinary way through the common goal to the sledge.

' The holy man obeyed readily, following the keeper as if he had
 ' been his good angel; and when he came up to the leads, was stayed
 ' there a pretty while, because the rest of the prisoners that were to
 ' suffer as malefactors the same day, were in the chapel, through
 ' which he was to pass, receiving their communion, as the custom is:
 ' the martyr being told as much, smiled, and passing through the cha-
 ' pel, said, *is this their chapel?* And here the keeper, whose name
 ' was Meares, was to deliver him to another keeper, called Snelling,
 ' whose office it was to carry the prisoner down to the sledge. And
 ' this Meares, taking his leave of the holy man, said to him, sir, I
 ' hope we shall one day meet in heaven: whereunto the good man
 ' answered, no, in truth shall we not, unless you become a catholic,
 ' and this truth I am now ready to seal with my blood.

' After this he encountered with a woman, prisoner in that place,
 ' whom he understood to be allied to Sir Philip Knevet: her he ex-
 ' horted to become a catholic, and to lead a virtuous life, using many
 ' effectual speeches to that purpose.

' It was now about eight o'clock in the morning, when the holy
 ' martyr being laid on his back upon the sledge, was drawn from the
 ' prison by four horses to Tyburn; but as he passed up Holborn, he
 ' cast a special eye upon such houses as he had acquaintance in, and
 ' with a cheerful countenance, as well as he could, his hands being
 ' pinioned, he gave them his benediction.

' As he was going to execution, a penitent of his went by him
 ' bitterly weeping; to whom the martyr spake, saying, why weep
 ' you child? The party answered, for you, sir: when instantly the
 ' martyr said, weep not for my death, for I can yet live if I please;
 ' but it is my joy to die for this cause, and therefore you have no rea-
 ' son to weep.

' And to another he said, with signs of great joy, that he was in-
 ' finitely happy to be able to lay down that life voluntarily now, which
 ' by course of nature he could not hope to keep one month longer.

Of his Comportment at Tyburn.

' When he came to the place of execution, the sheriff of Middle-
 ' sex, whose office is to attend in such cases, spake unto the holy
 ' man, asking him if he had any thing to say before he died? Where-
 ' upon he answered immediately, that he had to declare to all the
 ' world the cause of his death, which was purely the point of religion;
 ' for he was innocent of any crime that could deserve death: moreo-
 ' ver he said, Mr. Sheriff, I give you and all this company to under-
 ' stand, that whereas I am condemned, and brought hither to die for
 ' being a Romish priest; even that hath not been proved against me;
 ' so I have received hard usage in this sentence; nevertheless, I shall
 ' here do you, and all those that had a hand in my death, this right at
 ' least, to declare that which was never proved, viz. that I am a Romish
 ' priest, and have been so about forty years, God be praised for it.
 ' And since I am condemned for being such, Mr. Sheriff, I here make
 ' profession to all those that are here present, that I do not only die
 ' willingly for this cause, but think myself infinitely happy, and ho-
 ' noured highly therein, since it is to die for my Lord and Master
 ' Jesus Christ. Here the sheriff asked him, of what religious order
 ' he was? who answered, I am of the apostles' order, I give God
 ' thanks for it; and I do rejoice to receive that superabundant reward
 ' of my poor labours, which the holy apostles of our blessed Saviour
 ' received of theirs, though mine have been far inferior and less than
 ' theirs were. Hereunto the sheriff replied, saying, you die not for
 ' point of religion, but for seducing the king's liege subjects. To this
 ' the holy martyr answered, he had seduced none, but reduced or
 ' converted many, the which he was glad of, and did wish he could
 ' not only have converted more, but even all England; because there
 ' was no other saving faith than that of the Roman catholic church;
 ' and as for this faith I die myself most willingly, so I say unto you
 ' all, that will hope for salvation, you must die in the same faith at
 ' least, if not for it. The sheriff seeing the good Eleazar so stout in
 ' this point was willing to divert him from it, and asked him what his
 ' true name was, whether it were Ward, or not; and whether he was
 ' any thing allied to the bishop of Gloucester? To which he answered,
 ' that his true name was not Ward, but William Webster; and for the
 ' bishop, he was not allied to him, and so fell upon the profession of
 ' his faith again, saying, Mr. Sheriff I have no relation to that bishop,
 ' but have ever professed this religion which I now die for; and if I
 ' had a thousand lives, I should most willingly lose them all for the
 ' same cause. Here the sheriff, being willing that he should do any
 ' thing, rather than inculcate so much to the people the profession of
 ' the Roman faith, interrupted him again, and said, Mr. Webster,
 ' have you any prayers to say? The blessed man told him, I have said
 ' my prayers already; but this sufficed not the sheriff, who fearing he
 ' would fall upon the former subject, asked him the second time, have
 ' you any more prayers to say? To this the saint answered, yes, Mr.
 ' Sheriff, and if it please you to give me leave I shall say them; when
 ' instantly he fell upon his knees, and made a quarter of an hour's
 ' silent prayer with a grave composed countenance; and when the
 ' sheriff saw the good man stir, either supposing he had done his pray-

'ers, or not being willing to give him any longer time, he said unto
 'him with a loud voice, Mr. Webster, have you any thing else now
 'to say? To which demand the martyr answered, yes, Mr. Sheriff, I
 'have this to say more, that I pray heartily to God to bless the king
 'and queen, the royal issue and state, and all the people of this
 'realm; and, Mr. Sheriff, I would bequeath some small tokens ere
 'I die, amongst poor catholics; but I can see none of them here.
 'With that the people cried out, give it to the hangman that he may
 'favour you; at which the saint smiled, saying, *Alas! alas! he fa-*
 '*vour me! see the fire and faggots, the halter and the gallows, what*
 '*favour can he do me? Nor do I desire to lose the merit of suffering in*
 '*this cause;* which said, he gave unto the sheriff forty shillings, be-
 'seeching him to distribute that small sum of money amongst the poor-
 'er sort of catholics, the saint himself giving to the hangman two
 'shillings and sixpence, which is, said he, for thy good office thou
 'art to do me; and looking about him a little, he espied the carman
 'who had driven the hurdle to the gallows, and gave him two shil-
 'lings, which is, said he, for thy pains too, though thou be no catho-
 'lic; this done, he threw an inkhorn, and handkerchief, and some
 'other things left in his pocket, amongst the people; and then im-
 'mediately composed himself to die, recommending his soul to his
 'blessed Saviour, and crying out in these words, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu,*
 '*receive my soul,* he ended this life. He hung till he was dead, be-
 'cause they stript him hanging, then cut him down, dragged him by
 'the heels on his back to the fire, there dismembered and beheaded
 'him, ript up his belly, plucked out his heart and his bowels, and
 'cast them into the fire, &c. setting up his head and quarters upon
 'several gates and places of the city; but by God's special providence
 'the heart of this glorious martyr was preserved from the fire, by rea-
 'son it slid down upon the edge of a sloping stick, and so fell into
 'the embers, where it was rather covered than consumed, and by
 'this accident was found.

'A person of great quality, count Egmond by name, hearing by
 'a servant of his who was present at the action, that an holy priest
 'had suffered martyrdom that morning "being the 26th of July 1641"
 'asked his servant, if he had brought any relick of the martyr away
 'with him; who told him, yes, and gave him (as he said) the very
 'handkerchief which the saint had cast out of his pocket. The count
 'taking it with reverence, kissed it; but finding no blood upon the
 'same, gave the servant his own handkerchief, commanding him to
 'run back instantly to the place of execution, and to dip that in
 'some of the martyr's blood, if he could find any. The servant post-
 'ing away, came back to the gallows, made diligent search for some
 'of the blood, but finding it was all scraped up by the zeal of other
 'pious catholics, who had been before him, takes his stick, and rub-
 'bing up the ashes where the bowels of the martyr had been burnt,
 'finds a lump of flesh all parched, and singed by the fiery embers
 'wherein it lay covered, and hastily wrapped up what he had found,
 'in the handkerchief which his lord had given him, not having time
 'to shake off the fiery coals or hot ashes, by reason that some mali-

' cious persons who stood by, and saw this fellow stooping, and tak-
 ' ing somewhat out of the fire, demanded of him what he took thence?
 ' The man nimbly slipped over a park pale, and run from them, who
 ' would have laid hands on him; whereupon divers horsemen passing
 ' that way, and hearing a great number of foot cry stop, stop, stop
 ' (as the ill custom of our nation is every man making himself an
 ' officer, and hangman rather than fail) out of officious curiosity in such
 ' cases, rid hard round the park pole, hoping at the next gate to en-
 ' counter with this poor man, who was pursued by a clamorous and
 ' still encreasing company of footmen, who continually kept sight of
 ' him. The man perceiving himself so beset on all sides, and pursued,
 ' resolved not to lose the relick, whatever became of himself, drop-
 ' ed it, as he ran, in a bush, and took special mark upon the bush
 ' with his eye, where he left it, resolving to come another time and
 ' fetch what now he could not safely carry any farther; and this
 ' he did with such dexterity, making no stop at all, but feigning a
 ' small trip or stumble, and yet seeming suddenly to recover himself,
 ' ran on, drawing his pursuers after him, to delude them, and there-
 ' by to save the relick. In brief, this poor man recovered the skirts
 ' of the town ere he was overtaken, and there being apprehended,
 ' was carried before officers, yet by the power of his lord was fetched
 ' off, upon security given that he should be forth coming; and so went
 ' early next morning to the place where he had dropped the relick,
 ' and found it in the handkerchief which he had wrapped it in, and
 ' in the same place where he had left it; in which circumstance it is
 ' remarkable, that the handkerchief was not burnt by any of the
 ' fiery coals or hot ashes which might hang upon the flesh when he
 ' took it out of the fire; and bringing this home to his lord, upon
 ' diligent search what it should be, they found, by incision, it was
 ' the very heart of the holy martyr, and it remained fifteen days
 ' untainted; after which time the count, who keeps it as his greatest
 ' jewel, caused it to be embalmed; not that he did it to preserve it
 ' from corruption, which it seemed no way to incline to, but for reve-
 ' rence and religion to so rich a relick: *Quia pretiosa in conspectu Domini*
 ' *mors sanctorum ejus.*

' And it may serve for an example to all good christians, that their
 ' special devotions and duties to their particular patrons are exercises
 ' not only pleasing to God and his saints, but infinitely profitable to
 ' souls; for whereas this man of God was ever singularly devoted to
 ' St. Ann, the mother of the blessed virgin Mary, keeping her
 ' feast every year with more than ordinary solemnity, and this com-
 ' monly in the houses of some of his penitents, virtuous women, who
 ' bare that name; see the high reward he received of this his devo-
 ' tion, that Almighty God bestowed the crown of martyrdom upon
 ' him on the feast of St. Ann, the 26th of July, 1641! as if that bles-
 ' sed saint had been ambitious to wait upon God's martyr, and put
 ' the triumphant crown upon his head with her own hands, who had
 ' so devoutly and so constantly, for many years together, on this her
 ' festival day, solemnized her praises.' So far the manuscript.

164. * *Edward Barlow, Priest, O. S. B.*

EDWARD Barlow, called in religion father Ambrose, was born at Manchester in 1585, of pious and catholic parents, of the ancient family of Barlow of Barlow. His father was that constant confessor of Christ Alexander Barlow, Esq. who made it his care to give this his son a catholic and liberal education. By these means his tender mind, which had already a happy sweetness of temper, and an inclination to piety and learning, was improved, and strongly established in the true faith and the love of God. When he was twelve years old he was taken from school, to be page to a relation, a person of quality. But as he grew up, and considered the emptiness and vanity of the transitory toys of this life, and the greatness of things eternal, he took a resolution to withdraw himself from the world, and to go abroad, in order to procure those helps of virtue and learning, which might qualify him for the priesthood, and enable him to be of some assistance to his native country.

The place he made choice of for his studies was the university of Douay, which had been recommended to him by fame, and by the testimony of many learned and pious priests who had studied there. Here meeting with two other young gentlemen of equal age, and of the same inclinations, he chose them for his chamber fellows, and with them frequented the humanity schools at Anchin college, under the fathers of the society, as the alumni of the English seminary all did during Dr. Worthington's presidency. When he had finished his humanity, he was sent by the aforesaid Dr. Worthington "Aug. 23, 1610," from the English college of Douay to that of Valladolid; where he went through his course of philosophy, and part of his divinity: for before he had finished the latter, he followed his brother Dr. Rudesind Barlow to Douay, where he received the habit of St. Bennet; and after making his noviceship at a house then belonging to the English congregation, near St. Malo in Little Britany, he was professed at Douay, in 1615. And being now thirty years old, and otherwise very well qualified by virtue and learning for the apostolic calling, he was presented by his superiors, not long after his profession, to the holy order of priesthood, and sent upon the English mission, to which he found himself strongly invited by an inward call.

The seat of his missionary labours was his native country of Lancashire, "where, says Mr. Knaresborough,† his memory is held in great esteem to this day, by the catholics of that county, for his great zeal in the conversion of souls, and the exemplary piety of his life and conversation." 'Tis scarce to be expressed what wonderful blessings the Almighty gave to the labours of this his faithful servant, who made it his constant business to join the care of his own soul with that of his flock, and to preach full as much by example as by

* From two manuscript relations kept by the English benedictins at Douay, one of them being a letter of his brother F. Rudesind Barlow, to the abbot & monks of Cellanova, dated January 1, 1642.

† In his MSS. collections.

words. Such was the fervour of his zeal, that, as my author says, he thought the day lost in which he had not done some notable thing for the salvation of souls. Night and day he was ever ready to lay hold of all occasions of reclaiming any one from error; and whatever time he could spare from his devotions, he employed in seeking after the lost sheep, and in exhorting, instructing, and correcting sinners; and omitted no opportunity of preaching the word of God. But then he never neglected the care of his own sanctification: he celebrated mass, and recited the office with great reverence and devotion; had his fixed hours for mental prayer, which he never omitted; and found so much pleasure in this inward conversation with God, (from which he received that constant supply of heavenly light and strength) that when the time came on, which he had devoted to this holy exercise, he was affected with a sensible joy, as much as worldlings would be when going to a feast. He had also a great devotion to the rosary, which he daily recited, and recommended much to his penitents; and was very tenderly affected with the sacred mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the son of God (which he there contemplated) and was much devoted to his blessed mother. He often meditated on the sufferings of his redeemer, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, and these meditations enkindled in his soul a desire of suffering for Christ, a happiness for which he daily prayed.

He had a great contempt of the world, and its vanities; and a very humble opinion of himself, joined with a great esteem, love and veneration for the virtue of others. He was always afraid of honours and preferments, and had a horror of vain glory, which he used to call the *worm or moth of virtues*; and which he never failed to correct in others, and sometimes in a jocose way, at others seriously, according to the temper of the persons. He industriously avoided feasts and assemblies, and all meetings for merry making; as liable to dangers of excess, idle talk and detraction. He had no regard for temporal interest; and refused (though desired by many) to live in great families, where he might be well accommodated with all things; chusing rather to live in a private country-house, where the poor, to whom he had chiefly devoted his labours, might have, at all times, free access to him; to whom also he plentifully imparted both spiritual and corporal alms, according to his ability. He would never have a servant, till forced to it by sickness; never used a horse, but made his pastoral visits always on foot. His apparel was mean; neither would he ever wear a sword, or carry a watch. He allowed himself no manner of play or pastime; and avoided all superfluous talk and conversation; more especially with those of the fair sex, how virtuous or qualified soever: and when the business of his calling obliged him to make any stay in such company, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and would not look them in the face. Being asked one day by a lady of quality, why he so much avoided the company of women, since he himself was born of a woman? He replied; for that very reason I avoid the company of women, because I was born of a woman: signifying that the corruption of concupiscence, which from our

very birth is entailed upon us by original sin, was what made him look upon himself obliged to use those precautions.

He boarded with an honest country farmer, where his diet was chiefly whitmeats and garden stuff; for he seldom eat flesh, unless by occasion of company that came to visit him. He drank only small beer, and that very sparingly; and always abstained from wine: being asked the reason why he did so? he alledged the saying of the wise man, *wine and women make the wise apostatize*. He was never idle, but was always either praying, studying, preaching, administering the sacraments, or (which he used sometimes to divert himself with) painting pictures of Christ or his blessed mother. He was sometimes applied to, to exorcise persons possessed by the devil, which he did with good success. He had a great talent in composing of differences, and reconciling such as were at variance; and was consulted as an oracle by the catholics of that country in all their doubts and difficulties. He feared no dangers, when God's honour and the salvation of souls called him forth; and has sometimes, when engaged in such expeditions, passed, even at noon day, through the midst of enemies, without apprehension. And when some people would desire him to be more cautious, he would turn them off with a joke; for he was usually very chearful and pleasant in conversation; so that they who knew him best, thought he was, in this regard, not unlike the celebrated Sir Thomas More. Yet he was very severe in rebuking sin, so that obstinate and impenitent sinners were afraid of coming near him. Nothing more sensibly afflicted him, than when he saw any one going astray from the right path of virtue and truth, more especially if it were a person of whom he had conceived a good opinion, or had great hopes: upon these occasions he would at first be almost oppressed with melancholy, till recollecting himself in God, and submitting to his wise providence justly permitting evil, to draw greater good out of it, he recovered again his usual peace and serenity.

Some months before his last apprehension (for he was several times a prisoner) hearing that some persons, whom he loved as his own soul, were in a resolution of doing something very wicked, which was like to be the ruin of many souls, he was so strongly on a sudden affected with it, that it flung him into a fit of the dead palsy, which took away the use of one side, and put him in danger of his life: what added very much to his cross, was, the fear lest his poor children, whom he had begotten to Christ, should now be left destitute of spiritual assistance. And whereas his convulsions and pains seemed to have brought him to death's door, he had this additional affliction, that no priest could be found to administer the holy sacraments to him. In these extremities God Almighty was pleased to comfort him; and being in a manner out of himself, he broke forth into these words: 'Lord, thy will be done; a due conformity of our will to
' thine, is to be preferred to the use of the sacraments, and even to
' martyrdom itself. I reverence and earnestly desire thy sacraments;
' and I have often wished to lay down my life for thee, in the profes-
' sion of my faith: but if it be pleasing to thy infinite wisdom, by

‘this illness, to take me out of the prison of this body, half dead already, thy will be done.’ Whilst he was in these dispositions, God was pleased to send him a priest of the society of Jesus to assist him; as he himself had twelve years before exercised the same charity to F. Arrowsmith in prison, before his last conflict: at which time that confessor of Christ is said to have foretold, that he should be the next to follow him. At least this is certain, by the testimony of Mr. Barlow himself, in a letter to his brother Rudesind (who quotes it in his manuscript relation) dated out of prison, May 17, 1641, that F. Arrowsmith ‘the night before he suffered, when as yet Mr. Barlow had not heard of his suffering, came to his bedside, and told him; I have already suffered; you shall also suffer; speak but little, for they will be upon the watch to catch you in your words.

On the eves before the principal festivals of the year, whilst Mr. Barlow was in health, the catholics resorted to him from distant places, and passed the night, after the manner of the primitive church, in watching, prayer, and spiritual colloquies; whilst for his part he was employed almost all the night in hearing confessions. On the next day he treated them all with a dinner, where he, and some of the more honourable sort of his flock, served them that were poor, and waited upon them, and then dined off their leavings. When he sent them home, he gave each of them a groat in alms; and when all had dined, he distributed what remained to the poor of the parish. His zeal had made him as well known in all that neighbourhood, as the very parson of the parish. Some reprehended him for going about so publicly; to whom he replied, *Let them fear that have any thing to lose, which they are unwilling to part with*; which was not his case, who had set his heart upon nothing in this world; and was even desirous to lay down his life for God’s cause. He could not be persuaded by his friends to retire farther off from danger, to a house of a kinsman of his in Cheshire; being desirous, if it pleased God, to shed his blood at Lancaster.

He was beginning to recover of his illness, but was as yet very weak, when he was apprehended, on Easter-day 1641, in the following manner, according to the account which he himself sent out of prison to his brother Rudesind. A neighbouring minister, who had with him at church a numerous congregation, instead of entertaining them on that solemn day with a sermon and prayers, as usual, proposed to them as a work more worthy their zeal for the gospel, to go along with him to apprehend Barlow, that noted popish priest, whom they would now be sure to find in the midst of his flock; whereas were they to stay till church-time was over, they would miss the opportunity. They relished the proposition, and being about 400 in number, armed with clubs and swords, followed the parson, marching in front in his surplice, to the house, where Mr. Barlow having finished mass, was making an exhortation to his people, about 100 in number, on the subject of patience. The catholics that were within, as soon as they perceived the house was besieged, would have persuaded the man of God to hide himself, there being more than one private place for that purpose in the house, but he would by no means consent

to secure himself, and leave his sheep to the mercy of these wolves: wherefore exhorting them all to constancy, and putting them in mind that these light and momentary tribulations would work in them an eternal weight of glory; and telling them withal how ready he was for his part to suffer all things for Christ, he ordered them to open the doors. The mob immediately rushed in, crying out, *Where is Barlow? Where is Barlow? He is the man we want*; and laying hands upon him, they secured him, letting the rest go, upon giving caution for their appearance. In the meantime they searched the whole house, and broke open Mr. Barlow's chest, in hopes of finding money: but see the wonderful providence of our Lord! though there was a considerable sum of money there, which had been lately sent him by some charitable gentlemen to be given to the poor; and though they rummaged, and turned over all his cloathes, and other things, yet they could not find this bag; for which providence Mr. Barlow was very thankful, and gave proper orders afterwards for the disposing of the money according to the intention of the donors.

Mr. Barlow being now in the hands of this mob and their minister (who, it seems, had acted in this whole affair without any warrant) was carried by them, the same day, before a justice of peace, who sent him, guarded by sixty armed men, to Lancaster castle. Some of his flock would have attempted to rescue him in the way out of their hands; but he earnestly entreated them not to think of it. He was carried to jail in a sort of a triumph by this armed mob, who insulted over him, and treated him with contempt, which was to him a subject of joy; though at this time he was as yet so weak, that he could not sit on horseback without one behind him to support him. He was kept in prison from Easter till the summer assizes; and in the mean time, instead of being weakened or cast down by his sufferings, he wonderfully recovered his strength and health. He would not hear of the propositions made by his friends, of using their interest to have him removed up to London, or sent into banishment, as many others had been: but desired them to be easy, and not to concern themselves about him; for that *to die for this cause* (viz. for being a catholic priest) *was to him more desirable than life; that he must die some time or other, and could not die a better death.* To some also upon this occasion he imparted in confidence the vision which he had of father Arrowsmith. In prison he often entertained himself with the book of Boëtius *de consolatione*, which the jailor taking notice of, took the book away: at which Mr. Barlow smiling, said, *If you take this little book away, I will betake myself to that great book from which Boëtius learned his wholesome doctrine, and that book you can never take away from me*: and this is what he continually practised by mental prayer. My author adds, that when any one came to visit him in prison, he would not suffer the time to be lost in vain or worldly talk; but entertained the party with such discourses only as were for his instruction and edification.

After above four months imprisonment, his trial came on, on the 7th of September, before Sir Robert Heath: who is said to have had instructions from the parliament, if any priest were convicted at Lancaster, to see the law executed upon him, for a terror to the catholics,

who were numerous in that county. The indictment being read, Mr. Barlow freely acknowledged himself a priest, and that he had exercised his priestly functions for above 20 years in this kingdom. The judge asked him, why he had not obeyed the king's proclamation, commanding all priests to depart the realm before the 7th of April last past? Mr. Barlow answered, that several persons there present, and especially they who had brought him to prison, very well knew that he was then so weak, by a long and grievous illness, that he was no ways in condition to obey the proclamation.

The judge asked him, what he thought of the justice of those laws by which priests were put to death? He answered, that all laws made against catholics on account of their religion, were unjust and impious: for what law, said he, can be more unjust than this, by which priests are condemned to suffer as traitors, merely because they are Roman, that is, true priests? For there are no other true priests but the Roman; and if these be destroyed, what must become of the divine law, when none remain to preach God's word, and administer his sacraments? Then said the judge, what opinion have you of the makers of those laws, and of those who by their office see them put in execution? Mr. Barlow replied, if, my lord, in consequence of so unjust a law, you should condemn me to die, you would send me to heaven, and yourself to hell. Make what judgment you please, said the judge, of my salvation; for my part, though the law has brought you hither as a criminal, and a seducer of the people, I shall not pass so uncharitable a sentence upon you. I am no seducer, said Mr. Barlow, but a reducer of the people to the true and ancient religion. The judge, as he afterwards acknowledged, was astonished at the constancy of his answers, and his intrepidity, and put him in mind that his life was in his hands, and that it was in his power to acquit him, or condemn him: and don't you know and acknowledge, said he, that I sit here as your judge? I know, said the prisoner, and acknowledge you judge, but in such causes only as belong to the temporal court and tribunal; but in spiritual matters, and in things belonging to the court of conscience, be pleased to take notice, that I am judge; and therefore I tell you plainly, that if by that unjust law you sentence me to die, it will be to my salvation and your damnation. Upon this the judge directed the jury to bring him in *guilty*; and the next day pronounced sentence upon him in the usual form. Mr. Barlow heard the sentence with a chearful and pleasant countenance, and said aloud, thanks be to God; and then prayed heartily to the divine Majesty to forgive all that had any ways been accessory to his death. The judge applauded his charity in this, and granted him what he petitioned for, viz. a chamber to himself in the castle, where, for the short remainder of his time, he might without molestation apply himself to his devotions, and prepare for his exit.

On Friday the 10th of September, he was brought out to suffer according to sentence, and laid upon the hurdle, on which he was drawn to the place of execution, carrying all the way in his hand a cross of wood which he had made. When he was come to the place, being taken off the hurdle, he went three times round the gallows, carrying the cross before his breast, and reciting the penitent psalm *Miserere*.

Some ministers were for disputing with him about religion, but he told them, it was an unfair, and an unseasonable challenge, and that he had something else to do at present, than to hearken to their fooleries. He suffered with great constancy according to sentence, and so passed from short labours and pains to eternal rest and joy, in the 55th year of his age, the 25th of his religious profession, and the 24th of his priesthood and mission.

165. *Seven Priests and Confessors.*

IN the December following the execution of Mr. Barlow, I find seven priests at once condemned in the sessions at the Old Bailey, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for their character and priestly functions. They were condemned on the 8th of December, and were to have been executed on the 13th. At the desire of the French ambassador, the king being willing to have them reprieved and banished, sent a message to both houses of parliament, to know their thoughts upon the matter. This message being sent December the 11th, from the lords to the house of commons, and there read, it was singly voted upon these following priests: 'resolved, that John Hammon, John Rivers, alias Abbot, Walter Coleman, and N. Turner, priests, shall be put to execution according to law.' See Nalson's Impartial Collections, vol. ii. p. 731, 732, &c. However, his majesty having been pleased to grant his reprieve to all the seven, on the Tuesday following, December the 14th, both houses agreed to join in a petition, that his majesty would take off the reprieve, and order all the seven to be executed. To which his majesty, on December the 16th, returned his answer, that he would take the matter into consideration.

This reprieve of the condemned priests, who were shortly after reduced to the number of six, by the death of one of them, was perpetually objected to the king by the parliament; till his majesty, answering from York their petition concerning the magazine of Hull, &c. told them, 'concerning the six condemned priests, it is true, they were reprieved by our warrant, being informed that they were (by some restraint) disabled to take the benefit of our former proclamation; since that, we have issued out another, for the due execution of the laws against papists; and have most solemnly promised, upon the word of a king, never to pardon any priest without your consent, who shall be found guilty by law; desiring to banish these, "the six," having herewith sent warrants to that purpose, if upon second thoughts you do not disapprove thereof. But if you think the execution of these persons so very necessary to the great and pious work of reformation, we refer it wholly to you, declaring hereby, that upon such your resolution signified to the ministers of justice, our warrant for their reprieve is determined, and the law to have its course.' So far the king. And my lord Clarendon, in his history, vol. I. part 2. p. 490, tells us, that this unexpected answer did not a little disturb the parliament; because the king, by referring the matter to them, removed the SCANDAL from himself, and laid it at their doors: and certain it is, that we hear no more of this affair, and that these condemned priests were all suffered to

linger away their lives in Newgate, though no less than eight of their brethren were executed in different parts of the kingdom, within the compass of that one year 1642.

It remains, that we should here put down the chief particulars we have been able to discover concerning these seven condemned priests; and first, as to their order: father Angelus Mason, in his preface to his *Certamen Seraphicum*, tells us, that excepting father Coleman, who was a Franciscan, all the rest were either of the secular clergy, or of the venerable order of St. Bennet. Then as to other particulars, to begin with those that were first by parliament voted to die.

1. John Hammon, or Hammond, was a priest of Douay college, ordained and sent upon the English mission in 1625. He was a gentleman of learning and merit; a leading man amongst his brethren; a member of their chapter; and superior of the secular clergy in the west of England.

2. John Rivers, alias Abbot, a Londoner, was also a priest of Douay college: he was ordained in 1612, at which time I find he left the college, in order to enter into the society of Jesus. But this design proved ineffectual; for by the account of father Angelus, above quoted, when he was condemned to die, he was still a secular priest.

3. Walter Coleman was descended of a good family in Staffordshire, who, going abroad, studied his humanity in the English college of Douay; then returning home, after some years spent among his friends, being disgusted with the pleasures and vanities of the world, he determined to leave all, and to follow Christ, in a life of poverty, humility and mortification. Upon this he entered among the English Franciscans in their convent at Douay, where he was called father Christopher of St. Clare. He died in Newgate, Anno, 1645. He was author of a small poem, called, *The Duel of Death*. See more of him in *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 184, &c.

4. John Turner was a priest of the English college of Douay, ordained and sent upon the mission in 1625. He seems to have survived all the rest in prison, and consequently to have endured the longer martyrdom.

5. The other three, (whose names are not recorded in Mr. Nalson's collections) were, as far as I can gather from other records, Mr. Henry Myners, who died prisoner of the common side of Newgate, anno, Father Lawrence Mabbs, O. S. B. who died prisoner in the same gaol, anno, 1641. And father Peter Wilford, O. S. B. called in religion father Boniface, who died in the same prison, March 12, 1646, being fourscore years of age, or upwards. B. W. in his manuscript says ninety.

Father Mason, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 192, speaking of father Coleman, gives this short elogium of all his six companions: that they had all laboured for a long time upon the mission, with great fruit in gaining souls to God; that they had suffered all the inconveniences of a prison for many years; that they were condemned merely on account of their priesthood, and that they received the sentence of death with great joy, giving God thanks that they were thought worthy to suffer in his cause.

166. * *Thomas Reynolds, alias Green, Priest.*

THOMAS Reynolds, whose true name was Green, was born in the city of Oxford, towards the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign; and as great numbers of the brightest and most hopeful young men in both universities in those days, disliking the new religion, went abroad to be educated in the old, for which afterwards a great many of them laid down their lives; Mr. Reynolds followed their footsteps, and going over to Rhemes to the English seminary then residing in that city, after some time spent in his studies there, was advanced to holy orders; and being now deacon, was, on the 17th of September, 1590, in the company of several others, sent from Rhemes into Spain, the seminaries in that kingdom being then usually supplied from the college at Rhemes. Mr. Reynolds was made priest at Seville, and from thence was sent upon the English mission. He had been above fifty years in holy orders, when he was called forth to suffer, and in that space of time had weathered many a storm. I find his name amongst the 47 priests sent from divers prisons into banishment in 1606. But he quickly returned again to his post: he was therefore again apprehended, in or about the year 1628, about fourteen years before his death; and was then brought to his trial, and condemned; but by the queen's interest was reprieved; yet so as still to remain a prisoner. It is true, I find his name in Mr. Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness*, &c. amongst those priests who in 1635, upon giving bond for their appearance, were permitted to go out of prison: and in consequence of this permission he was often abroad amongst his friends, till in June 1641, (the factious in the parliament being now very clamorous against the reprieving of priests) he was seized and committed; and in the January following, without any new trial or provocation, was brought down to his former sentence, and executed.

He was a man, says my author, "*Chiflet, p. 37,*" of a most religious comportment in his whole life, who, for a long course of years, had preached virtue and godliness to his countrymen, no less by his example than by his words: and he was now far advanced in age, "*being about 80.*" As to his body, he was fat and corpulent, yet very infirm through past labours and sufferings. As to his temper, he was remarkably mild and courteous; and in the many years he had laboured in the vineyard of his Lord, he had reaped much fruit, in gaining many souls to God. He was naturally timorous; and therefore when he was so unexpectedly called upon to prepare himself to die, distrusting in his own strength, he earnestly importuned heaven for the grace of constancy and perseverance, by long and fervent prayer, in which he employed a good part of the night before his martyrdom; and begged, to this same end, the prayers of other priests and servants of God; and the divine majesty was pleased to hear him, and in such manner to favour him with his grace, as to banish all his fears, and fill his soul with a wonderful fortitude and vigour; so that he was surprized to find this

* From Mr. Ireland's Douay diary; a manuscript relation by father Floyd, S. J. another manuscript, in the collections of Mr. Knaresborough; and Chifletius, in his *Palma Cleri Anglicani*, printed at Antwerp in 1645, p. 22.

change in himself, and could not forbear extolling the mercies of God towards him, and the wondrous operations of his powerful grace in so poor, frail, and infirm an old man. On the morning before he was to die, he celebrated the sacred mysteries; and then chearfully obeyed the summons of the officers who called for him in order to execution.

“What follows, is mostly transcribed from two manuscript relations, of which I have copies in my hands.”

‘He, “Mr. Reynolds,” ‘came forth of Newgate, and put off his ‘hat to the sheriff, then went up the sledge, and lay down; but lifting ‘himself up again, he saluted them that were about him, and gave his ‘blessing to all catholics that were present. Mr. Roe, a Benedictin, ‘presently followed, and did in the same manner, and they embraced ‘each other on the hurdle. It was the 21st of January, 1641, being ‘Friday, the feast of St. Agnes, that these two couragious soldiers of ‘Jesus Christ were called out to fight. They were drawn on one hur- ‘dle by four car-horses; the way being very deep and plashy, so that ‘their faces, bands and cloaths were much spattered with dirt. In the ‘mean time it is almost incredible how much both protestants and ca- ‘tholics were moved to tears at the sight of them, and what shew of ‘zeal the catholics made towards these blessed martyrs; for in the streets ‘they went up to the hurdle where they lay, some kissing their hands, ‘some their garments, others craving their blessing publicly; others ‘saying, *courage, valiant soldiers of Christ*: and the martyrs on the ‘other side bade them joyfully farewell, saying, they more esteemed it ‘to be drawn up Holborn on a sledge for this cause, than if they were ‘riding in the best coach the king had, and that they were going to a ‘marriage feast.

‘They arrived about eleven o’clock at the place of execution, where ‘Mr. Reynolds having the sheriff’s permission, spoke bravely for half an ‘hour’s space; and amongst other things said, that if he had as many ‘lives as there are bright stars in the firmament, he would most willingly ‘give them all for this cause.—That he had conversed with all sorts of ‘people, having been a priest in England almost forty years, yet none ‘could ever accuse him so much as of a word tending to treason or dis- ‘loyalty; that he had only laboured to reduce strayed souls to the fold ‘of the catholic church, to which as he had reduced some, so he wish- ‘ed that every one of them had been a thousand. He also told them, ‘that God’s vengeance hung over England for their seditious treacheries, ‘&c. Here the sheriff asked him what he meant? I do not mean, said ‘he, the parliament; I will not censure nor meddle with their actions, ‘but beseech Almighty God to bless them, and to send the Holy Ghost ‘to teach them to do what is best for the kingdom, and the catholic ‘church; and withal he excused the king for having any hand in his ‘blood, and prayed for him, for the queen, the royal issue, and the ‘whole kingdom.

‘I pray God, said he, that they, “the king and parliament,” may ‘settle all things to his honour and glory, and that England may be a ‘flourishing kingdom.—I desire all whom I have offended to forgive ‘me, as I forgive all the world from the bottom of my heart, and all

‘ those who have a hand in the effusion of my innocent blood : I pray
‘ God that it may not be laid to their charge, and that it may not cry to
‘ to heaven for vengeance, and lie heavy upon the kingdom. And God
‘ forgive them, to please whom I was so suddenly called away.—And
‘ God bless you, Mr. Sheriff, and reward you for your goodness towards
‘ me, and for your patience in bearing with my tediousness, and grant
‘ you his grace to make you a glorious saint in heaven, &c. Here the
‘ sheriff answered in a low voice, *and I commend myself to you.*

‘ All this he spoke with such an undaunted courage, a chearful aspect, and at the same time with such an air of meekness and humility, as drew tears from the eyes of many ; and though the crowd was extraordinary great, the attention and silence was such as might rather be expected in a church than upon this occasion.—The sheriff, who had all this time stood uncovered, and shewing by his own wet cheeks a deep concern for the prisoner, turned towards my lord Rich, and some other persons of distinction, and with a great feeling and concern protested, that he had never seen in his whole life a man die like him ; and that for his own part he did truly pity his condition.

‘ Mr. Reynolds having finished his discourse, kneeled down, disposing himself for prayer. When Mr. Roe (a man courageous and valiant, says F. Floyd) rising up, and looking about him, said with some surprize, here’s a jolly company ! I know you come to see me die : my fellow here hath in great measure spoke what I would have said. However, I shall repeat the words I used at the bar. I say then here again, for a man to be put to death for being a priest, this being the most sacred and highest order in the world, is an unjust and tyrannical law.—I say, that law of the 27th of queen Elizabeth, which condemns a man to death for being a priest only, is a wicked, unjust, and tyrannical law, a law not to be found even amongst the Turks, or elsewhere in the whole universe, England excepted. Here the sheriff said, Mr. Roe, I must not suffer you to vilify the laws ; I am here to see justice done, and cannot hear you make these reflections upon the laws and judicial proceedings of the nation. Whereupon Mr. Roe desisted, recommending himself to the prayers of all such as were of his religion, forgiving from his heart all persons whatsoever, and earnestly begging forgiveness of all. This done he prepared himself for execution, shewing in his behaviour, the whole time, an unparalleled contempt of death.

‘ Then the cart, wherein were three felons (one of which had been privately reconciled by Mr. Roe the day before, and gave great signs of penitence) was placed under the gallows, and the two confessors were ordered to get into it, which they did with joy ; and having there embraced each other for the last time, they betook themselves to their private devotions. While the executioner was fastening the ropes, Mr. Reynolds called to him, friend, says he, pray let all be secure ; and do thy duty neatly ; I have been a neat man all my life.

‘ After some time employed in mental prayer, they rose up ; and Mr. Roe espying one of the turnkeys of the Fleet, where he had formerly been a prisoner, *friend*, (says he, smiling) *I find thou art a prophet : thou hast told me often that I should be hanged ; and truly my*

unworthiness was such, I could not believe it, but I see thou art a prophet.

While the ordinary of Newgate was praying with the felons, the two priests recited the *Miserere* psalm *alternatim*, Mr. Reynolds beginning, and Mr. Roe answering; and having recited the whole psalm, and paused a short time, they repeated it a second time, Mr. Roe giving out the first verse, Mr. Reynolds answering—The executioner coming to cover their faces, Mr. Roe told him, he had disposed of his handkerchief; but, says he, *I dare look death in the face.*

In fine, after some devout recommendations of their souls to their Saviour, the servants of God, as the cart was drawn away, saluted the people with great signs of joy and alacrity, and so passed to a better world. They hung till they were fully dead, in their cloaths, and afterwards were quartered. Many present dipped their handkerchiefs in their blood, others gathered up the bloody straws, and what they could get else, going to London with their spoils. The catholics then present (many in number) seemed even beside themselves with fervor and zeal; and into them that were absent, their glorious example hath put life and alacrity. Yea, a protestant said, *it would be long enough before any of our religion will die, as these men do, for their faith; they will sooner turn to a hundred religions.* Another protestant that frequents our house, “they are the words of father Floyd’s MS.” having no handkerchief about him, dipped his glove within and without, and brought it to us, and could not for weeping relate what the good man said: and added, that many protestants wept, even the sheriff himself. A protestant lord, to my knowledge, said, that he was unwilling they should be put to death, and that it would be the cause that two thousand more papists would rise for these two priests; and that he did not doubt, but when Mr. Ward was executed, a thousand were made papists. It is likely, continues the manuscript, that the seven condemned priests will shortly also be executed, notwithstanding the king’s reprieve; for now the parliament proceeds against priests upon their own authority, without asking the king’s leave. God give them constancy, and make us partakers of their merits.’ So far the manuscript. They suffered at Tyburn, January 21, 1641-2.

167. * *Bartholomew Roe, Priest. O. S. B.*

BARTHOLOMEW Roe, who in religion was called father Alban, was born in Suffolk, of a gentleman’s family, and was from his infancy brought up in the protestant religion. After having gone through his grammar studies in his own country, he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and there for some time applied himself with good success to higher learning; till going to visit some friends at St. Albans, as providence would have it, he was there told of one David, an inhabitant of that town, lately convicted and cast into prison for a popish recusant, and was desirous to go and talk with the prisoner, making no

* From a manuscript relation, kept by the English Benedictines at Douay, and other memoirs in my hands.

question but that he could convince him of the errors and absurdities of the Romish tenets ; for he had a sharp and ready wit, and a tongue well hung, and withal, was full of conceit of his own religion, and with false ideas of the catholic doctrine. To the prison therefore he went, and entered into discourse with the prisoner, upon the subject of his religion ; who, though a mechanic, yet was not ill read in controversy, so that he was able to maintain his cause against all the oppositions of our young university man, and even pushed him so hard upon several articles, that Mr. Roe soon perceived he had taken a tartar, and knew not which way to turn himself. In conclusion, he who came to the attack with so much confidence of victory, left the field with confusion, beginning now to stagger and diffide in the cause.

From this time Mr. Roe was very uneasy in mind upon the score of religion ; nor did this uneasiness cease, till, by reading and conferring with catholic priests, he was thoroughly convinced of his errors, and determined to embrace the ancient faith. And having found the treasure of God's truth himself, he was very desirous to impart the same to the souls of his neighbours ; and to this end resolved to go abroad, that he might enter into holy orders, and so return home well qualified by virtue and learning to preach to others the true way of salvation. Being therefore reconciled to the church, he passed over into Flanders, and entered himself a convictor in the English college of Douay, as appears by the records of that house : but after some time he removed from thence to Dieulwart in Lorrain, where he took the habit of St. Bennet, amongst the English monks of that venerable order ; and having given general satisfaction to all the religious, during the year of his probation, he was admitted to his solemn profession ; and after some time presented to holy orders ; and being judged by his superiors thoroughly qualified, by a long practice of all religious virtues, for the apostolic functions, he was sent upon the English mission.

Here he took great pains in preaching, conferring with protestants, &c. and gained many souls to Christ and his church ; his zeal and charity making him proof against all personal dangers, where he thought he could be serviceable to the soul of his neighbour. After some time he fell into the hands of the pursuivants, and was committed to the new prison, which was then in Maiden-lane, and for a long time endured great hardships there ; till by the mediation of count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, he was taken out of prison, and with many other priests sent into banishment. On this occasion he went to Douay, to visit his brethren in their convent of St. Gregory, and remained with them for about four months ; and then returned again upon the English mission, where he spent the remainder of his days, and that for the most part in prison.

For after he had laboured for about two years more with his usual zeal, he fell a second time into the hands of the adversaries of his faith, and was then committed a close prisoner to a filthy gaol at St. Albans, the very place where he had received the first favourable impressions of the catholic faith. His confinement here was very strict, and his want even of necessaries so very great, that he verily believed he must have perished through cold and hunger, if a special providence had not interposed.

But after about two months, by the means of some friends, he was sent for up to town, where he was something better accommodated in the prison of the Fleet, and wanted not opportunity (which he improved to the best) during the 17 years of his confinement, of being beneficial to the souls of many who resorted to him; and even for the latter part of the time, he seems to have had the liberty, as several others of his character had in king Charles's days, of going abroad upon his parole, and attending to the calls of his ministry. In the mean time, he suffered much from frequent illnesses, and violent fits of the stone: (for which he was cut more than once) all which he endured with invincible patience and courage; being remarkably chearful and facetious even in the midst of his sufferings. He was also very industrious in animating such as applied to him to the practice of mental prayer; instructing them in this holy exercise, both by word of mouth, and by several pious tracts, which he translated out of other languages into English, some of which he caused to be published in print, others he left behind him in manuscript.

About the beginning of the long persecuting parliament, being in conversation with one of his brethren, he told him, that war was at hand, and that it was time to be prepared for the conflict; and so it happened: for not long after, he was apprehended, and committed to Newgate, and within a few days brought upon his trial at the Old Bailey. The chief witness against him was a fallen catholic, whom he had formerly assisted. He pleaded *not guilty*, but boggled at being tried by *his country*, that is, by the twelve ignorant jurymen, as being unwilling that they should be concerned in the shedding his innocent blood. The judge upon that occasion told him what punishments the law had ordained for such as refused to plead, which he must look for, if he persisted to decline being tried by his country: Mr. Roe generously replied, *my Saviour has suffered far more for me, than all that; and I am willing to suffer the worst of torments for his sake*. The judge bid him think better of it, and sent him back to prison.

The next day, after he had taken advice of some grave and learned priests, he was brought again to the bar, and consented, after the example of so many other confessors of Christ, to be tried by *his country*. The jury went aside, and quickly returned, declaring him guilty of the indictment, viz. of high treason, on account of his priestly character and functions, and the judge pronounced sentence upon him according to the usual form, which he heard with a serene and chearful countenance; and then making a low reverence, returned thanks to the judge, and to the whole bench for the favour, which he esteemed very great, and which he had greatly desired: and how little, said he, is this, which I am to suffer for Christ, in comparison with that far more bitter death which he suffered for me! He then acknowledged himself to be a priest, but withal loudly condemned those laws by which the priests were put to death; and made a proffer, to maintain by disputation in open court, against any opponent whatsoever, the catholic faith, which he for thirty years had laboured to propagate, and was now about to seal with his blood. This the judges would not hear of, but sent him back to prison, wondering at his constancy and intrepidity.

During the few days he remained in prison, between his condemnation and execution, his soul seemed always full of joy at the prospect of his approaching happiness. Great numbers came to visit him, and not one of them who did not depart highly edified with his comportment and conversation. On the day that he was to be executed, he found means to celebrate mass in prison early in the morning, which he did with singular devotion; and after mass made a short, but pathetic exhortation to the catholics that were present, giving them his last benediction, and desiring of them, that as often as in passing through the city, they should see that hand of his fixed on one of the gates, or in crossing the water should see his head on London bridge, they would remember those lessons which he had preached to them, of the necessity of holding fast the catholic faith, and of leading a christian and holy life.

When he was admonished that the officers of justice waited for him below, he readily obeyed the summons, and walked down the steps with an edifying composure, and a modest cheerfulness in his looks, saluting the sheriff and all the people with great civility. Then coming up to the hurdle, and taking Mr. Reynolds by the hand, who was already placed on it, and with his usual facetiousness, feeling his pulse, asked him, *how he found himself now?* *In very good heart,* said Mr. Reynolds, *blessed be God for it, and glad that I am to have for my companion in death a person of your undaunted courage.* Then after mutual salutations, Mr. Roe being also fastened on the hurdle, they were drawn to Tyburn, as we have already seen in the acts of Mr. Reynolds.

When they were arrived at Tyburn, they made their last confessions to each other, and after mutual embraces and congratulations, getting up into the cart, they kissed the ropes, and put them on, as their last stoles, in which they were to offer their last sacrifice; and heartily recommended themselves to the prayers of all catholics. We have already taken notice of the last speech of Mr. Reynolds, (during which Mr. Roe was busy in preparing for death one of the malefactors whom he had reconciled in prison) and how Mr. Roe was hindered by the sheriff from proceeding in his discourse to the people; upon which occasion, he begged leave to speak a word or two to the sheriff himself, who told him, he might: pray sir, said Mr. Roe, if I will conform to your religion, and go to church, will you secure me my life? That I will, said the sheriff, upon my word; my life for yours if you will but do that. See then, said Mr. Roe, turning to the people, what the crime is for which I am to die, and whether my religion be not my only treason. Other particulars relating to Mr. Roe's death have been recorded above. He recommended his soul to God when the cart was about to be drawn away; and he was observed, whilst he was hanging, to hold for some time his hands joined before his breast, and twice separating them a little, to join them again, as one employed in prayer.

When he was cut down and stripped, in order to be quartered, a certain writing was found about him, perhaps the speech which he designed to have spoke, which the sheriff immediately laid hold of, and is said to have laid before the parliament; but what in particular were the contents of it, we have not been informed.

168. * *John Lockwood, alias Lassels, Priest.*

JOH^N Lockwood was eldest son of Christopher Lockwood, esq. of Soresby in the county of York, by N. Lassels his wife, daughter of sir Robert Lassels of Brackenbrough, in the same county. He was born in 1555, according to the Douay diary, which gives him no more than 87 years of age, when he suffered; (though I have before me some relations, which affirm that he was at that time 96 years old.) He had exercised his priestly functions, according to the same diary, for the space of 44 years before his martyrdom: so it is likely he did not retire out of England till late. Whenever it was, we are assured that he voluntarily quitted an estate of four hundred a year, to devote himself to the service of God and his neighbours, in the quality of a priest and of a missionary; and that at a time, and in a kingdom, where he could look for nothing else in that quality but labours and dangers, prisons, and death.

He performed his studies abroad, partly in the college of Douay or Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome: but at Rome he was made priest, as appears from his answer in court, when being charged with being a Roman priest, he answered, that it was right enough expressed in his regard, for indeed, said he, I was ordained priest at Rome. He was twice at least a prisoner for his faith, before his last apprehension: for I find in Molanus, that he was sent from prison into banishment in 1610; and after his return upon the mission was retaken again, and then brought upon his trial, and condemned to die; but was reprieved, and kept in prison. How long he was confined at this time I have not found, nor how he escaped out of prison: probably he was discharged, as many others were, either upon occasion of the marriage-treaty with Spain, or by the interest of queen Henrietta Maria. He was apprehended for the last time at a place called the Wood-end, the house of Mrs. Catenby, a catholic widow, where the old gentleman had lived for some years. He was cultivating his little garden, when the blood-hounds rushed in upon him, and easily secured their prey.—The pursuivants were inhabitants of a neighbouring market town called Thirsk; their leader was one Cuthbert Langdale; and he and another wretch, to fill up the measure of their iniquities, appeared witnesses against him at the York assizes, and took away the life of the good old man.

Some odd circumstances, bordering upon cruelty, which accompanied the commitment and condemnation of Mr. Lockwood, especially considering his great age, and the peaceable and inoffensive disposition of the man, gave much offence, not only to catholics, but to many of the more moderate protestants; insomuch, that even to this day, says Mr. Kn. his execution is mentioned in Yorkshire with pity and compassion. Though as for his own part, it appears by the sequel of the story, that he was well satisfied with the orders of providence, and did even joyfully take up his cross to follow his dying Saviour. He took leave of his friends with a wonderful evenness of mind, and manifestly shewed

* From the Douay diary, by Mr. Ireland, and from the manuscript collections of Mr. Knaresborough.

by his behaviour, that he was not under the least concern at his commitment, or the consequences of it.

The great difficulty was, how to convey the prisoner to York. They set him on horseback, but through weakness and age he was not able to ride: 'Upon this, Cuthbert gets on behind, and supports his feeble charge; but neither would this contrivance long succeed; the poor old man after a short trial fainted away, and had like to have disappointed the priest-catcher of his reward. When he was a little recovered, they jogged on again, but again the old gentleman grew very sick, and plainly told his governor, that he could no longer sit on horseback: *then you shall lie on horseback*, quoth Cuthbert; *for to York castle you are sent, and to York castle you shall go, with leave of the Lord.* Accordingly they laid the prisoner on the horse, Cuthbert still riding behind, with one hand managing the beast, and his prisoner with the other. And thus moving on by easy marches, after many a halt, and many a sick fit, and fainting away, he brought his charge alive to York, where they made an odd appearance in the streets, and had many lookers on. A passage well remembered, says Mr. Kn., "from whom we have transcribed it," spoke of to this day and by the antient inhabitants of that city, with indignation and horror.'

Cuthbert having now performed his task, and delivered up his prisoner to the gaoler, was making haste homeward, when Mr. Lockwood very friendly called to him, and at the same time pulling out his purse, 'hark you Cuthbert,' says the old gentleman, 'I have even given you a great deal of trouble in bringing me to this happy place, here *take that angel for your pains*, and the Lord be with you.' And five shillings more he gave to the under priest-catcher for his share in the trouble, so they took leave of each other, and parted very good friends.

At the next assizes Mr. Lockwood, with his fellow prisoner Mr. Catherick, was tried and condemned; and though they were for a short time reprieved by the king, the clamours of the parliament against reprieving priests were such at that time, that his majesty, though, as it is thought, very much against his inclinations, signed the dead warrant for their execution. And accordingly, on the 13th of April, 1642, the king and the prince of Wales, with many lords and persons of distinction, being then at the manor in York, Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Catherick were laid on a hurdle, and drawn through the streets of York to the place of execution, to suffer according to sentence.

After some time employed in private devotions, the sheriff appointed Mr. Catherick to walk up the ladder: he moved towards it in obedience to orders, but shewed by his countenance, that the fears of death had encompassed and oppressed his soul; which Mr. Lockwood observing stepped forward, and planting himself at the foot of the ladder, 'Mr. Sheriff,' says he, 'under favour the place is mine, I am his senior by many years, and therefore with leave I challenge it as my right to mount the ladder first. Then applying himself to Mr. Catherick, my dear brother in Jesus Christ, and fellow-sufferer,' says he, 'take courage; we have almost run our race, shall we faint and be tired when in sight of the prize? O let us run in

‘ spirit to our Saviour in the garden, and call upon him in his agony and
 ‘ bloody sweat. O blessed Lord Jesus! who submittedst thyself to
 ‘ death, for the example and comfort of thy servants at the hour of
 ‘ their deaths, be near us we beseech thee at this moment, moderate
 ‘ our fears, strengthen our faith, and confirm our hopes, that in obedi-
 ‘ ence to thy call we may go forth to meet thee readily and chearfully;
 ‘ and thankfully drink of thy chalice, how bitter soever to nature. O
 ‘ Jesus! sweeten it by thy grace; help thy poor servants that call upon
 ‘ thee, that we may here lay down our lives in obedience to thy holy
 ‘ will, and in defence of thy holy religion, with constancy and perseve-
 ‘ rance. Lord Jesus, once more we recommend ourselves in this dread-
 ‘ ful hour to thee! help us by thy powerful grace, that thou O Lord
 ‘ mayest be glorified in our deaths, and thy church and people edified.’

This done, the holy man began to climb up the ladder as well as he could; but finding himself out of breath, he made a halt, and turning to the sheriff with a smiling countenance, ‘ good Mr. sheriff,’ says he, ‘ have a litte patience with me; indeed this same climbing a ladder is ‘ a piece of hard service for an old man of fourscore and seven: howe-
 ‘ ver, I will do my best; for who would not take thus much pains,
 ‘ Mr. Sheriff, to get heaven at the journey’s end.’ Then he began again to ascend, and with the help of two men, whom he rewarded with a shilling each, he arrived at the top of the ladder. Here pausing a while to recover his breath, he enquired of Mr. Catherick, how he did? ‘ In
 ‘ good heart,’ replies he, ‘ blessed be God! and ready to suffer with
 ‘ constancy the death his providence has allotted me. Yes, my dear
 ‘ Father, I am willing and ready to follow you, thanks be to my Lord
 ‘ and Saviour Jesus, who by his grace has strengthened me, and by
 ‘ your good example has encouraged me.’

Mr. Lockwood, overjoyed to see his companion thus disposed, prepared himself immediately for his end; and after a few words of edification to the people, and earnestly desiring the prayers of the catholics, and exhorting them to constancy and patience in their sufferings, he employed a few minutes in silent prayer, and then delivered himself up to the executioner; and whilst with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, he cried out, *Jesus, my Saviour! Jesus my Redeemer, receive my soul! Jesus, be to me a Jesus!* the executioner flung him off, and he soon expired.

When he was cut down, in order to be bowelled and quartered, the hangman it seems scrupled at the butchery part, and for a time flatly refused it; and even taking a rope threatened to hang himself, rather than embrue his hands in innocent blood. But being at last prevailed upon by a wicked woman to undergo the drudgery, he fell to work like a fury, cutting, slashing, and tearing the bodies and bowels as well of Mr. Lockwood, as of Mr. Catherick, hashing their entrails into small parts, and flinging them like a madman amongst the crowd. The heads and quarters of the two priests were disposed on the several gates or bars, as they term them, of the city; and Mr. Lockwood’s head was fixed on the north gate, called Bootham-bar, close by the king’s palace, at the manor, where his majesty then resided, insomuch that it was not possible for him to come out of the palace gate, or even look out from

the east, but old Eleazar's bloody head was before his eyes, which must have affected his mind with some troublesome remembrances.

169. * *Edmund Catherick, Priest.*

HE was descended from the Cathericks of Carlton, an ancient family in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Richmond. He performed his studies in the English college of Douay, and being there made priest, was sent upon the English mission about the year 1635, being then 30 years old. He stands with a fair character in the college diary, and is particularly commended for his extraordinary meekness, and for his zeal and labours in the mission. “ R. D. Lockwood, *eadem hora secutus est R. D. Edmundus Catherick, alias Huddleston Eboracensis, in passione socius, eo quod Sacerdos esset. Vir mitissimus, & hujus collegii alumnus, annos habens 37, quorum 7 in vinea Anglicana operarius strenuus impenderat. Diar. MSS. R. D. Ireland, ad annum 1642.*”

After seven years labouring in the vineyard of his Lord, he was apprehended on the road, not far from Watlass, and was carried by the pursuivants before justice Dodsworth, who had married a near kinswoman of Mr. Catherick; to whom, it seems, the good man some time before (having been invited as a kinsman to his house) had in private candidly owned that he was a priest; so that Mr. Catherick being now brought before him, the justice without more ado committed him to York castle, and afterwards appeared as evidence against him, making oath that the prisoner had owned himself a priest in his hearing. And it is the opinion of the people of that neighbourhood even to this day, says Mr. Knaresborough in his manuscript collections, that Mr. Dodsworth and his family for some years after felt the guilt of Mr. Catherick's blood very heavy upon them, in a long series of surprising and dire disasters.

He was condemned merely for being a priest. His behaviour at the place of execution, was very religious and devout. He employed the whole time in prayer, while Mr. Lockwood was upon the ladder, and by his looks and reverend posture plainly shewed, that his applications to God were full of affection and fervour. When Mr. Lockwood was turned off, Mr. Catherick was ordered up the ladder, and he chearfully obeyed: his former fears were now quite dissipated, and a great calm and tranquillity had succeeded in his soul. When he was upon the ladder, he again betook himself to prayer, earnestly desiring all catholics there present to pray with him, and for him. He spoke little, saying, there was no need of it, for that his trial being lately past, whereat many of the company were present, they could all bear him witness that he was tried and condemned for his priesthood; and that for this only, and for no other treason, he was brought thither to suffer death. He prayed for the king, his royal consort and their issue, that God in his mercy would shower down his blessings upon them, and send a right understanding betwixt his majesty and his parliament. Then he prayed for his persecutors, especially the person who was chiefly concerned

* From Mr. Knaresborough's Collections.

‘ in his death ; that God would bring him to a sense of his crime, and
 ‘ a speedy repentance : adding, that for his own part he freely forgave
 ‘ him, as heartily as he expected and hoped for mercy and pardon of his
 ‘ own manifold sins at the hands of God.’

And now recollecting himself again for a few minutes, with eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he said, *Lord, I obey ; be near me, O Lord ! my soul hath trusted in thee ; let me not be confounded for ever.* Then pulling a cap over his eyes he delivered himself to the executioner, who soon after turned him off the ladder, and he calmly expired, April 13, 1642. His head was placed upon Micklegate bar. His bowels, or rather the fragments of them, were buried on Toft green.

170. *Mr. Wilks, alias Tomson, Priest, Confessor.*

A Little while after the execution of Mr Lockwood and Mr. Catherrick, another priest of the secular clergy died in York castle under sentence of death. His name was Wilks, though he was commonly known by the name of Tomson. He was born at Knaresborough in Yorkshire, was taken at Malton upon a market-day, and set in the stocks to be gazed at by the people almost the whole day ; till a cutler of the town making oath, that he knew him to be lord Evers’s priest, he was sent to York castle, tried and convicted ; but died before execution.

171. * *Edward Morgan, alias Singleton, Priest.*

EDWARD Morgan was born in Flintshire, of North-Wales, and was educated in the English college of Douay :† from hence he was sent into Spain (as appears by the account he gave of himself to the people at the place of execution) and there made priest at Salamanca. From Spain he went to Rome ; and from Rome he came upon the English mission. In England, after some time, he was apprehended and committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained confined for fourteen or fifteen years ; suffering much from the loathsomeness of the place, and the want of all necessaries ; more particularly during the two last years ; with this additional aggravation to his sufferings, that some were pleased to give it out that he was mad ; which slander he willingly forgave, amongst many other injuries, which he had to suffer from the malice of his adversaries.

At length he was brought upon his trial, in this parliamentary persecution ; and was condemned, barely on account of his being a priest ordained beyond the seas, and remaining in this kingdom contrary to the statute of Elizabeth the 27th. No other crime was so much as objected to him. The sentence of death was pronounced upon him in the usual form, as in cases of high-treason, on the 23d of April, being the feast

* From the Douay diary. From a Latin manuscript, by an eye-witness of his death, sent me from St. Omer’s ; and from Chiflet’s *Palmae cleri Anglicani*, p. 35. printed at Antwerp 1645, who declares in his epistle dedicatory to the bishop of Antwerp, that he received all his informations either from eye-witness, or from such as were informed by eye-witnesses.

† Hujus collegij alumnus. Mr. Ireland’s diary, April 1642.

of St. George the martyr, the patron of England; which sentence he received with remarkable cheerfulness, and even joy. Many protestants, as well as catholics, came to see him in prison after condemnation; and whereas the former proposed to him their queries, and their objections against the catholic religion, it was wonderful with what solidity, charity and modesty he answered all their queries, and refuted all their objections; so that on the one hand they found themselves quite overwhelmed with the weight of his arguments; and on the other, so taken with his charitable and modest way of treating religious controversies, that they could not help having a great respect for him, and a great compassion for his case: and it is affirmed that these conferences were of no small service to the souls of several of them.

As to the catholics, many of them made their confessions to him, and these, as well as the rest, thought themselves happy if they could carry off any thing that belonged to him, to keep as a relic; insomuch that they cut off his very buttons, and pieces of his cloak; till he was forced to give it up to be divided amongst them; and instead of it they furnished him with a new one to carry with him to Tyburn. Many wept and lamented his case, whom he comforted with cheerful words, flowing from the abundance of a heart full of joy at the approaches of so great a happiness as that of dying for Christ; declaring to them withal, to the greater glory of God, that though by nature he was timorous, he had now no manner of apprehension of halters, knives, or fires, or whatever else he could suffer for so good a cause; and that he should be even glad to have many lives, that he might lay them all down in the service of so good a master. However, he begged that all catholics would pray for him, that he might die like a true *Roman catholic priest*, that is, said he, *with a constant humility, and an humble constancy; that no fear may terrify me, neither any presumption puff me up, or transport me out of the bounds of a christian modesty in my words and carriage.*

On the day after his condemnation he found means (which he had not been able to do for a year before) of celebrating in prison the tremendous mysteries, to prepare himself by that august sacrifice and sacrament for his death. And the divine majesty was pleased upon this occasion to visit his soul with such spiritual delights and heavenly consolations, that he was in a manner in an extacy, and found all the difficulty imaginable to proceed in the divine sacrifice; his devotion being particularly inflamed with the thought of the holy name of Jesus, from which he was obliged violently to divert his mind, crying out with blessed Xaverius, *Satis est Domine*. It is enough, O Lord! or he could never have finished. The dispositions which he found in his soul upon this occasion, he discovered in confidence to a priest of the society of Jesus, who came to visit him that day: and the same, or another friend of his found him the following evening in the like raptures of divine love and spiritual joys, though he had been wearied all the day with a continual crowd of people coming to visit and confer with him. The religious man, just now mentioned, asked the confessor of Christ, if there was any thing in which he could be any way serviceable to him? he answered, that he should be glad of the prayers of the society; and

that his prayers should not be wanting for them: but withal taking him aside, he told him, that in the extremity of want under which he had laboured, during the two last years of his imprisonment in the Fleet, he had been obliged to contract some debts to the value of about twenty-two pounds, which it would be a great comfort to him to see discharged before he died. The good father promised he would do his best to procure him that sum of money; which he set about without loss of time; and by the contributions of pious catholics was enabled to carry him the whole sum the next day; for which in return the holy confessor promised his prayers for all his benefactors, and in particular for the society of Jesus.

The night before he was to suffer, he spent in watching and prayer. The following day, being Tuesday the 26th of April, 1642, about eight o'clock in the morning, he was brought out of prison, and laid on a hurdle or sledge incommodiously enough, as well because his head was laid too low, as also because the rope which he had about his neck, was drawn so strait, that he could scarce take his breath: but this being perceived was remedied in Holborn; upon which occasion the sledge being obliged to stand, some one very courteously offered him a glass of wine to drink, which he did not refuse; and withal he took that opportunity of informing the people of the cause for which he was going to die; viz. barely for being a priest; whilst all the standers-by were in admiration at that chearfulness and joy, which they discovered both in his words and looks. The multitude of the people that accompanied the sledge was very great, yet no one in that great number offered to affront or insult him, but rather all shewed a compassion towards him. When they arrived at Tyburn, it was with the greatest difficulty imaginable that the sheriff's men could make room for the sledge, so great was the concourse of coaches, horsemen and footmen, there assembled, to be spectators of the last conflict of this soldier of Christ. Yet as soon as they saw him, no other voice was to be heard in the crowd but *silence, silence*, all being desirous to hear his last words; and a great part of them standing with their heads uncovered.

As soon as he was put up into the cart, he sent to the sheriff, who was at a distance by reason of the crowd, to ask leave to speak to the people, declaring that he had that regard to the authority of a lawful magistrate, that he would not speak without his permission. The sheriff used his best endeavours to draw nigher, but could not, and therefore by the means of others that were nearer, gave him the leave that he desired. But first, the servant of God, before he would speak, kneeled down in the cart, and there spent some time in silent prayer: then rising up, and disposing of his hat to a friend who was near, he waited a little while till all were silent, his countenance being all the while wonderfully serene and chearful. He began by signing himself with the sign of the cross, and took for his text out of the gospel of the foregoing Sunday, those words of our Saviour, *the good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep*, St. John x. acknowledging at the same time himself infinitely unworthy of that title, which properly belongs to Jesus Christ the true shepherd of our souls, who died for us all: but withal inferring from this text that we ought also, by Christ's example, and by the

consideration of his dying for us, to be willing to lay down our lives also for him : and affirming, that to die for being a priest of the catholic church, is to die for the church of Christ, and consequently dying for Christ. ‘ There is but one God, said he, one faith, one baptism, ‘ one true church, in which is found true hope of salvation, out of ‘ which there can be none ; and for this true church of Christ I willingly die ; and I offer up my blood for the good of my country, and ‘ for the procuring a better understanding between the king and parliament.’ Here he was interrupted by a minister, telling him to prepare himself for death, and not to stand seducing the people. The confessor replied, sir, this is not a proper time for me to dispute with you ; I beg you would not be troublesome to me now ; and so went resolutely on with his discourse (though he was several times interrupted by the same minister) proving the true church by its antiquity, universality, succession, &c. and demonstrating that the modern sects are all too new to have any claim to a succession from the apostles, or commission from Christ. His words seemed to make no small impression on the hearers ; who were also astonished at his intrepidity, and that wonderful chearfulness with which he met death.

He also gave the people on this occasion a short account of his birth, parentage and education ; acknowledging himself to be a priest, and begging of God to forgive all who had slandered him, or been the cause of his manifold sufferings, as he besought his divine majesty to forgive his own innumerable sins. After he had finished his discourse, and the rope was now fastened in order to execution, he chearfully said, he hoped he should now *be sent to heaven in a string*. A minister taking him up, said it was now no time to joke : Mr. Morgan replied, indeed this was no joking matter with me, but very serious ; but why should any one be offended at my going to heaven chearfully ? For *God loves a chearful giver*. Then after he had recommended his departing soul by prayer to God, the cart was drawn away ; and he was suffered to hang till he was dead, and then he was cut down, bowelled and quartered.—He suffered in the 57th year of his age, April 26, 1642.

172. * *Hugh Green, alias Ferdinand Brooks, Priest.*

MR. Hugh Green, who was known upon the mission by the name of Ferdinand Brooks, or, as he is called in Mr. Ireland’s diary, Ferdinand Brown, was born in London, about the year 1584, and after an accademical education at Cambridge, became a convert, and went abroad to the English college of Douay, where he was admitted to the usual oath, and received alumnus, July 7, 1610. He was confirmed at Cambray, September 25, 1611, was advanced to the minor orders, and made sub-deacon at Arras, December 17, deacon March 18, and priest June 14, 1612. He sung his first mass on St. John Baptist’s day, June 24, and left the college on the 6th of August

* From the Douay diary, and a manuscript relation of his death, by an eyewitness.

following, in order to enter himself amongst the capuchins; but the want of health, or some other impediment preventing his going through with that difficult enterprize, he went over upon the English mission, where he laboured for many years, his residence being at Chediok in Dorsetshire, the seat of lady Arundel.

When king Charles set forth his proclamation, commanding all priests to depart the nation by a certain day, and that at their utmost peril, Mr. Green took a resolution to withdraw upon this occasion, as many others had done. The lady of the house opposed the thing, saying it was to no purpose, the time allowed in the proclamation being now elapsed. Mr. Green had not seen the proclamation, but said with some assurance that there remained two or three days, and therefore he would make the best of his way to Lime the next seaport, not doubting but he had yet time sufficient to have the benefit of the proclamation.

When he came to Lime, and was going on board a vessel bound for France, he was roughly accosted by a custom-house officer, enquiring his name and his business there: Mr. Green very freely told him he was a catholic priest, and that as such he was leaving the kingdom, in obedience to his majesty's late proclamation. The officer answered, that he was mistaken in his account, the day fixed in the proclamation for the departure of the priests and jesuits being already passed; and therefore he was not to be allowed the benefit of the proclamation. And whereas he had owned himself a priest in his hearing, he must be had before a justice of peace. Accordingly a constable was called, and Mr. Green was carried before a justice; and notwithstanding his pleading his good intentions of obeying the king's orders, and that he hoped where the mistake was only of two or three days, advantage would not be taken of his unwary but candid discovery of his character, to the endangering of his life; he was by the justice committed to Dorchester goal; and after five months imprisonment was tried and condemned to die, as in cases of high treason, barely for being a priest. The following account of his martyrdom is copied from Mrs. Elizabeth Willoughby's MSS, who was an eye-witness.

' Upon Wednesday before the sentence of death being given
' against him by judge Foster, he said, *Sit nomen Domini Jesu benedictum in scula.* "May the name of the Lord Jesus be for ever
' blessed." He should have died upon Thursday, and to that end the
' furze was carried to the hill to make the fire, and a great multitude
' of people were in the streets, and at the gate, and lanes, to see the
' execution. But our great martyr did desire to die on Friday, the
' which was by a friend of his procured of the sheriff, though with
' very much difficulty, being opposed by Millard the master keeper.
' And it was noted, that after his sentence he never went to bed, and
' eat but very little, scarce enough to sustain nature; yet was he
' very chearful and full of courage to the last.

' Now I beseech our Lord to put his words into my memory, that
' I may expressly relate them, for I have a great scruple to add or
' take away: and therefore I have had the help of a true servant of

' God, who was attentive at his death; yet we being two weak
 ' women cannot punctually remember all. Much admired was his
 ' devotion: he kneeling on the hurdle made his prayer, and kissed
 ' it before he lay down upon it, and continued his prayers until he
 ' came to the place of execution. Then he was taken from the
 ' hurdle, and stayed on the hill a good distance from the gallows,
 ' until three poor women were hanged: two of them had sent him
 ' word the night before, that they would die in his faith. O! what
 ' comfort was this to God's true servant! who did all which was pos-
 ' sible to see and to speak with them, but could not. Then they sent
 ' again to desire him, that when they had made a confession of their
 ' sinful life at the gallows, and should give him a sign, that he then
 ' should absolve them. The which with great joy on his part, and
 ' much benefit (I hope) on theirs, was performed: they two turning
 ' their faces towards us, and throwing forth their arms, cried out to
 ' him, *God be with you, sir*; and so died; but the third woman turned
 ' from us towards the press of people, and so she died, her face or
 ' speech never tending towards us.

' Now I also noted that our martyr's charity in this short time of
 ' life was not unrewarded; for God of his mercy was pleased to yield
 ' him the like comfort, by a reverend father of the society of Jesus,
 ' who was there on horseback to absolve him, the which with great
 ' devotion and reverence, taking off his cap, and lifting up his eyes
 ' and hands to heaven, he received from him.

' I cannot but bless God to see the magnanimity of these two, our
 ' holy martyr and that reverend father. The one being at the point
 ' of death, with such comfort, as his chearful countenance expressed;
 ' and the other not apprehending the great danger he was in to be
 ' taken by the rude multitude, of whom he should have found no
 ' mercy.

' Now is our martyr brought to the foot of the ladder by the
 ' sheriff, where falling upon his knees, he remained in devout prayer
 ' almost half an hour: then he took his crucifix and *Agnus Dei* from
 ' his neck, and gave them to this devout gentlewoman, my assistant
 ' in this relation; and his beads he gave to another; also he gave the
 ' master-keeper his handkerchief. And last of all to me most un-
 ' worthy he gave his book of litanies, &c. also from the gallows he
 ' threw me down his band, spectacles, and priest's girdle. Then
 ' turning himself to the people, and blessing himself with the sign of
 ' the cross, he began:

' There be four principal things, which all men ought to re-
 ' member; death, judgment, heaven and hell. Death is a horror to
 ' nature; but that which followeth is much more terrible, viz. judg-
 ' ment, if we die not as we ought; and as we dispose ourselves to
 ' good or evil in this life, so shall the measure of our punishment or
 ' glory succeed. I am here condemned to die for my religion, and
 ' for being a priest: we know there must be priests, for God fore-
 ' telling of the church by the prophets, saith, *Thou art a priest for*
 ' *ever, according to the order of Melchisedech*, Ps. cix. And, *From*
 ' *the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof, there shall be a clean*

‘ *sacrifice offered in my name*, Malach. i. Now four things are to be
 ‘ considered. A God, a sacrifice, a priest, a man. God must be
 ‘ served by sacrifice, this sacrifice must be offered by a priest, and
 ‘ this priest must be a man: such am I, and therefore I must die.
 ‘ Wherefore do we receive holy unction, and are made priests, but
 ‘ to offer sacrifice to God? But I am condemned for being ordained
 ‘ by the see of Rome: St. Paul saith, *the Romans have the catholic*
 ‘ *faith*, Rom. i. &c. and gives God thanks that their faith and his
 ‘ were one; of which catholic faith I am. Against this Roman faith
 ‘ all the sectaries cried out; and all heretics that have been since
 ‘ Christ oppugn this faith, and yet truly out of it none can be saved.

‘ There be four things more, one God, one faith, one baptism,
 ‘ one church. That there is one God we all acknowledge, in whom,
 ‘ from whom, and by whom all things remain and have their being.
 ‘ That there is one faith appears by Christ’s praying that St. Peter’s
 ‘ faith (he said not faiths) should never fail; and he promised to be
 ‘ with it to the end of the world. That there is one baptism; we are
 ‘ all cleansed by the laver of water in the word. That there is one
 ‘ church holy and sanctified: doth not St. Paul say, that it is a
 ‘ glorious church without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing? Now
 ‘ the marks of this church are sanctity, unity, antiquity, universality;
 ‘ which all of us, in all points of faith believe. “Here the ministers in-
 ‘ terrupted him, and would have disputed with him; but he said, he
 ‘ had been five months in prison, and in all that time not any one of
 ‘ them came to dispute with him. There he would not have refused
 ‘ any of them; but now that his time was too short for disputation.
 ‘ So he went on.” But some will say, *We are fallen off from this church*
 ‘ *of Rome*: but in what pope’s time, in what prince’s reign, or what
 ‘ are the errors, none can discover. No, this holy church of Christ
 ‘ did never err. We have often offered public disputation, but it
 ‘ would never be accepted. No, this church can never be impeached
 ‘ of falsehood in matters of doctrine; though scholars in school points
 ‘ may differ, but never in points of faith. God is the author of all
 ‘ truth, and he hath promised *to be with it even to the consummation of*
 ‘ *the world*, St. Matth. xxviii. until we meet all in the unity of faith,
 ‘ and knowledge of the Son of God; to the end we be not carried
 ‘ away with every blast of doctrine; because many heresies have risen
 ‘ with diversities of doctrine to oppugn the truth of God’s church, as
 ‘ heretofore Arius, Nestorius, Wickliff, and others, so now in these
 ‘ our latter times, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and the rest, whose doctrine
 ‘ at this present hath so inveigled the judgments of this kingdom; for God
 ‘ cannot be divided, nor served in many faiths. And although there
 ‘ have been many heretics, yet this Roman church resisted, confound-
 ‘ ed, and condemned all heresies: and Luther himself confesses, that
 ‘ his religion was not begun by God, neither should it be ended by
 ‘ God.

‘ Here a minister, (one Banker, some say it was the minister who
 ‘ formerly had been a weaver, and now is chaplain to Sir Thomas
 ‘ Trencher) cried out with a loud voice, *He blasphemeth, stop that*
 ‘ *mouth of the blasphemer, cast him off the ladder*: and so much noise

‘ was made by the multitude, that the sheriff, to content the people,
‘ desired our martyr to leave off that discourse; and silence being
‘ made, I truly pity our poor country, said he, with all my heart, to
‘ see what divisions are in it, and in religion no unity among you.
‘ Then he began to pray heartily for his majesty, and that this king-
‘ dom might be settled in peace, the which he said would never be,
‘ until there were unity of religion amongst them.

‘ Then he said, I am brought hither for a priest and a traitor: that
‘ I am a priest I have confessed, and as such I thought to have left
‘ this my country, in obedience to his majesty’s proclamation; I went
‘ to receive that benefit for my passage, but was refused, and taken
‘ upon pretence of some few days past, beyond the limitation of the
‘ aforesaid proclamation, and brought to Dorchester prison, and am
‘ now for no other cause, (I thank God) *than for being a priest, to die,*
‘ and not for any treason to my king or country. For I protest before
‘ Almighty God, I never wished hurt to my king or country in my
‘ life; but I prayed for his majesty, and every day in my *Memento* at
‘ the holy mass, I offered and recommended him to God. But there
‘ were laws made in queen Elizabeth’s days, by which it was made
‘ treason to be a priest. By this law I am condemned for a traitor;
‘ but surely the ancient laws of this kingdom would never have done
‘ it, as the modern doth. And now judge you, whether the laws so
‘ lately made by men be sufficient to overthrow the authority of God’s
‘ church, and to condemn the professors of it?

‘ Nevertheless, I forgive all the world from my heart, and all
‘ those who have had a hand in my death; and I beseech you all, if
‘ I have offended any of you in any thing, that you will every one
‘ forgive me. I have not had a purpose to give offence to any of you,
‘ and I pray God give you all his grace to seek him so, as you may
‘ be made able to attain his mercy and eternal glory.

‘ Then he called to me, and desired me to commend him heartily
‘ to all his fellow-prisoners, and to all his friends. I told him I would,
‘ and that some of them were gone before him, and with joy expected
‘ him. Then on my knees I humbly begged his benediction; so did
‘ five more of ours; and he cheerfully gave us his blessing, making
‘ the sign of the holy cross over our heads. Then one Gilbert Loder,
‘ an attorney, asked him, if he did not deserve death, and believe his
‘ death to be just? To which he replied, *My death is unjust*: so pull-
‘ ing his cap over his face, his hands joined before his breast, in silent
‘ prayer he expected almost half an hour his happy passage, by the
‘ turning of the ladder, for not any one would put a hand to turn it,
‘ although the sheriff had spoken to many. I heard one bid him do
‘ it himself. At length he got a country clown, who presently, with
‘ the help of the hangman, (who sat astride on the gallows) turned the
‘ ladder, which being done, he was noted by himself and others to
‘ cross himself three times with his right hand, as he hanged; but in-
‘ stantly the hangman was commanded to cut him down with a knife
‘ which the constable held up to him stuck in a long stick, although
‘ I and others did our uttermost to have hindered him. Now the fall
‘ which he had from the gallows, not his hanging, did a little astonish

' him ; for that they had willed the hangman to put the knot of the
 ' rope at his poll, and not under his ear, as it is usual. The man that
 ' was to quarter him, was a timorous unskilful man, by trade a barber,
 ' and his name was Barefoot, whose mother, sisters, and brothers,
 ' are devout catholics ; he was so long a dismembering him, that he
 ' came to his perfect senses, and sat upright, and took Barefoot by
 ' the hand, to shew, (as I believe) that he forgave him ; but the peo-
 ' ple pulled him down by the rope which was about his neck : then
 ' did this butcher cut his belly on both sides, and turned the flap upon
 ' his breast, which the holy man feeling, put his left hand upon his
 ' bowels, and looking on his bloody hand, laid it down by his
 ' side ; and lifted up his right hand, he crossed himself, saying
 ' three times, *Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, mercy !* The which, although unwor-
 ' thy, I am a witness of, for my hand was on his forehead ; and many
 ' protestants heard him, and took great notice of it : for all the catho-
 ' lics were pressed away by the unruly multitude, except myself, who
 ' never left him until his head was severed from his body. Whilst he
 ' was thus calling upon Jesus, the butcher did pull a piece of his liver
 ' out instead of his heart, and tumbling his guts out every way, to see
 ' if his heart were not amongst them ; then with his knife he raked in
 ' the body of this blessed martyr, who even then called on Jesus,
 ' and his forehead sweat ; then was it cold, and presently again it
 ' burned ; his eyes, nose, and mouth, run over with blood and water.
 ' His patience was admirable, and when his tongue could no longer
 ' pronounce that life-giving name Jesu, his lips moved, and his in-
 ' ward groans gave signs of those lamentable torments which for more
 ' than half an hour he suffered. Methought my heart was pulled out
 ' of my body to see him in such cruel pains, lifting up his eyes to
 ' heaven, and not yet dead : then I could no longer hold, but cried,
 ' *out upon them that did so torment him :* upon which a devout gentle-
 ' woman understanding he did yet live, went to Cancola the Sheriff,
 ' who was her uncle's steward, and on her knees besought him to see
 ' justice done, and to put him out of his pain, who at her request
 ' commanded to cut off his head ; then with a knife they did cut his
 ' throat, and with a cleaver chopped off his head ; and so this thrice
 ' most blessed martyr died. Then was his heart found and put upon a
 ' spear, and shewed to the people, and so thrown into the fire, which
 ' was on the side of a hill. They say the heart did roll from the fire,
 ' and that a woman did take it up, and carry it away. This I speak
 ' not of my knowledge, but what is here reported to be true ; and it
 ' may be very probable, because the hill is steep and uneven, and the
 ' heart not thrown as usually, but from the point of a long spear.
 ' Then did this gentlewoman and myself go to the sheriff, and beg his
 ' body, the which he freely gave unto us. Now did the devil roar,
 ' and his instruments the blinded Dorcestrians, (whom with my soul
 ' I deplored) did fret and chafe ; and told the sheriff, that he could not
 ' dispose of his quarters to papists, neither should we have them.
 ' And truly I believe, that if we should have offered to carry them
 ' away, they would have thrown the body and us into the fire, for
 ' our number was but small, and they many thousands. Their fury
 ' did so rage against us, that we were forced to withdraw ourselves ;
 ' and had not I procured the master keeper's wife to have gone back

' with us to the town, they had stoned us, or done us worse harm, as
 ' I was told by many credible people; so great is their malice to ca-
 ' tholics, God in his mercy pardon and convert them. From the town
 ' we sent a shrowd by a protestant woman, to wrap his happy quar-
 ' ters in; whom, it seems, God did send to us on purpose to do this
 ' last office unto his servant; for to us all she was a stranger, and lives
 ' twelve miles from the town. And when she heard us mourn, that
 ' not any of us durst appear, she with a courage went and saw his
 ' quarters put into the shrowd, and buried them near to the gallows,
 ' although she suffered many affronts from the ungodly multitude; who
 ' from ten o'clock in the morning, till four in the afternoon, stayed
 ' on the hill, and sported themselves at football with his head, and put
 ' sticks in his eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, and then they buried it
 ' near to the body; for they durst not set it upon their gate, because the
 ' last before, which was long since martyred amongst them, "Mr.
 ' John Cornelius Mohun, *anno domini* 1594." they set up his head
 ' upon their town gate, and presently there ensued a plague, which
 ' cost most of them their lives; so that still they fear, yet will not
 ' amend: God hold his merciful hand over them, or else I fear a se-
 ' vere judgment will befall them for this their last inhuman cruelty. I
 ' wish the contrary, and heartily pray that we may all partake of the
 ' prayers and sufferings of this our glorious martyr, whose magnani-
 ' mity and patience were to me both admirable and profitable. And
 ' well did one minister say, who was present at his death, amongst
 ' forty more of his coat, that if many such men should die, and be
 ' suffered to speak as he did, they should soon shut up their books.
 ' This is credible, although for some respects the man is not named.
 ' Sir, this briefly is what I conceived myself obliged to signify unto
 ' you concerning this subject, not doubting but you will conceive the
 ' same comfort in reading it, as I did in writing the same unto you,
 ' who am, Sir, &c. E. WILLOUGHBY.'

This same account was not long after published in print by Chifletius, in his *Palma Cleri Anglicani*, and the substance of it is found in the Douay diary, 1642.—Mr. Green suffered at Dorchester, on Friday the 19th of August, 1642, in the 57th year of his age.

173. * *Thomas Bullaker, Priest, O. S. F.*

THOMAS Bullaker, called in religion, father John Baptist, was born at Chichester in Sussex, about the year 1604, of pious & catholic parents. His father was a noted physician, who brought up his son in the fear of God, & gave him a liberal education. At the age of 18 he went over to the college of St. Omers, under the care of the fathers of the society; & from thence, after a short stay, he was, with divers others, sent to the English seminary of Valladolid in Spain. He had not been long here before he found a call to the order of St. Francis, which grew daily stronger upon him: but then how to put this call in execution

* From F. Angelus, a S. Francisco, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*, printed anno 1649, p. 31. &c.

he knew not; being quite a stranger to the religious of that order, (as they also were to him) and not so much as knowing the language of the country; and withal apprehending an opposition from the superiors of his college, were they to know any thing of his inclinations. In this perplexity he had recourse to God, praying night and day, with many tears, and using divers mortifications, such as hair-shirts, disciplines, lying on the ground, &c. till at length he took courage, and communicated the affair to his confessor, the reverend father Baker, S. J. and he, after examining his vocation, and putting him into a spiritual exercise of ten days; and finding him still more ardently desiring to embrace the austerity, poverty, and humility of the Franciscan institute, approved of his call, and joined with the rector of the college in petitioning for his admission in the celebrated convent of the Spanish recolects at Abrojo, at six miles distance from Valladolid. The petition was granted to the great satisfaction of young Mr. Bullaker, now about nineteen years of age; who upon the receiving of the news, broke out into those words of the royal prophet, *Latatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum domini ibimus*, Psal. cxxi.

He passed his noviceship, and made his religious profession in the convent of Abrojo: and then was sent by his superiors to another convent of the order, to study philosophy; and from thence to Valladolid to study divinity, which he began there, but finished at Segobia. And now being made priest, the Spanish province of the recolects of the *immaculate conception*, (in which he was professed) being about to send missionaries to labour in the West Indies, he petitioned to be of the number: but his provincial would not consent to that proposal, but told him his own native country England had a better title to his labours, and stood as much in need of them, as the Indies could do. Father Bullaker acquiesced, and willingly embraced the will of God notified to him, by his superior: and having received proper licence and mission, and prepared himself by an extraordinary recollection and retreat of ten days, he set out upon his journey, which he made on foot (in a secular habit which he had begged) through a great part of Spain and France, in the midst of many dangers and difficulties, till he came to Bourdeaux. Here he took shipping in an English vessel, and landed safe at Plymouth.

He was scarce come to his inn, when he was apprehended upon the information of the master of the ship, and brought before the mayor of Plymouth; and after examination, committed to a filthy jail in that town; where he suffered all kinds of extremities for eight days, having no other bed but the bare ground, it being the winter season and very severe. From Plymouth he was sent to the county jail at Exeter, where he was put amongst the felons, and not much better accommodated than he had been at Plymouth; only he received some small charities, from the few catholics that were in that neighbourhood. In this prison he remained till the lenten assizes, when he was brought to the bar, in order to be tried: but no sufficient evidence appearing against him, his trial was put off. In the mean time some friends having interested themselves in his favour at court, he was sent for up

to London, and discharged. But what he had suffered in his imprisonment brought a violent fever upon him; from which he recovered indeed, yet so that he was never after a healthy man to his dying day.

Being recovered, he was sent by his superior into the country, where he laboured with great zeal and fruit, for about eleven years: till hearing of the martyrdom of Mr. Ward, he was inflamed with a vehement desire of glorifying his master by the like death: which desire of his was increased by the news of the condemnation of the seven priests in the latter end of the same year. Upon this he quits his residence in the country, and with the leave of his superior, dedicates himself to the laborious employment of assisting the poor, the sick, and the imprisoned in London; in hopes of more readily meeting with martyrdom there: he takes a lodging for this purpose in the city, which was soon after visited by the pursuivants, coming to search for a priest. What does he do upon this occasion? Instead of hiding himself, he goes up to the men, and boldly asks them, *Am I the priest you search for?* They answer, no. *Why,* says he, *there is no other here.* However, they said no more to him, but went their way; and though they returned again upon the same errand the next day, and found his chamber open where he was sitting at dinner, in their sight, and his breviary was lying hard by on a table; yet they took no notice of him, nor so much as offered to come within his room; which gave him no small uneasiness: but his time was not yet come. What follows with regard to his apprehension, examinations, and trial, is an abstract of a manuscript relation written by himself, at the request of a reverend priest, a little before his death; published in the *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 47, &c.

‘ On Sunday being the 11th of September, 1642, it pleased Almighty God to assuage my sorrows, by giving me good hopes that he had vouchsafed at length to hear my unworthy prayers, and would speedily grant my petition. For this morning in my devotions, immediately before mass, having repeated again my former prayer, with as much earnestness as I could, that God in his infinite goodness would grant me, though most unworthy, the favour of laying down my life for his sake; and having said, as usual, the litanies of the blessed virgin, and begun mass; when I was come to the hymn, *Gloria in excelsis*, the apostate Wadsworth, coming into the room, seized me at the altar. I offered to take off my vestments; but he opposed it, saying, he would have me, vested as I was, before the sheriff of London: I urged the inconveniencies that might follow to himself as well as to me, from the mob, if he conducted me through the streets in that dress. Upon this remonstrance he consented that I should pull off my vestments: which he immediately seized, together with the books, beads, pictures, &c. and my silver oil box; and then carried me, together with the lady of the house, before the sheriff.

‘ The sheriff asked me, if I was a priest? I told him, I was. Then, said he, how durst you presume to return into England, in

' contempt of the laws, which prohibit priests returning hither, under
 ' the severest penalties? I answered, because I was convinced that
 ' those laws were unjust, and therefore not to be regarded. I added
 ' that I believed if they went on, as they had began, they would soon
 ' make it high treason to believe in Christ; for it appeared how little
 ' regard they had to him, whose image on the cross of Cheapside
 ' they had lately so grossly abused. Some of the standers-by asked
 ' me, where Christ had commanded in the scriptures the making of
 ' his image? I answered, that though this was not expressly com-
 ' manded in scripture; yet it was agreeable to the law of nature,
 ' to which the divine law is no way opposite, to testify our love to a
 ' person by the regard we have to his picture or image; and thus
 ' both right reason and experience shew, that the affront offered to
 ' the king's image, is to be looked upon as done to himself, and is
 ' punished as such. What then must be thought of the affronts you
 ' have lately offered to the image of Jesus Christ, the king of kings?
 ' Then the sheriff asked me, for what intent I had returned to Eng-
 ' land? I answered, to bring back my country to the fold of Christ,
 ' from which it was gone astray: that I was sent hither to this end.
 ' He asked me, who sent me? I answered, I was sent by those who
 ' had an authority to do it, delegated to them by the pope. Then the
 ' sheriff left me, and I was carried out by a back door into another
 ' street, by reason of the great concourse of the mob before the house,
 ' and conducted to the New Prison.

' On Tuesday morning I was carried to Westminster, to be ex-
 ' amined before a committee of parliament, appointed for that pur-
 ' pose. When I came thither, Wadsworth brought in the vestments
 ' and other ornaments which he had taken, and laid them upon the
 ' table before the committee; one of them said, they were but mean:
 ' they are too good, said I, for those that now have them. The
 ' chairman gravely said, as mean as they are, they can serve for an
 ' idolatrous worship as well as the best. What idolatrous worship,
 ' sir? said I. Why, said he, is it not idolatry to worship bread for
 ' God? I replied, we worship not the bread and wine for God, in
 ' the tremendous mysteries; but we worship Jesus Christ under the
 ' species of bread and wine, as the church of God has always done
 ' from the days of the apostles.

' Whilst this controversy was in agitation, one of the company
 ' in looking over and examining the vestments, uncovered the altar
 ' stone, and viewing the crosses upon it, cried out, that he had there
 ' discovered the number of the beast. I could scarce forbear laughing
 ' at his ignorance: but going up to him, I said, pray, sir, since you
 ' are so well acquainted with the beast, be pleased to tell me what
 ' is his name. Then the chairman asked me, how I durst presume to
 ' disobey the laws of my country? I answered with the apostles,
 ' Acts iv. *Judge you, if it be just in the sight of God, to obey you rather*
 ' *than God.* Sir William Cawley, formerly my school fellow, said,
 ' you know, Mr. Bullaker, it is written, *Fear God, and honour the*
 ' *king.* I know it, said I, and I also know that the parliament which
 ' made it treason to be a priest, did also by law establish the govern-
 ' ment of the church by bishops, the common prayer, and ceremo-

'nies; all which in this present parliament you oppose. True, said he, but why may we not amend what is ill ordered before? This, said I, is what you attempt; but assure yourself, that a parliament will come, and that the very next parliament that shall sit, in which that religion which you now pretend to establish (viz. presbytery) will be rejected and thrown out. He said, I should never see that day. I know, said I, that the time of my dissolution is at hand, but what I have foretold will certainly happen.' "It did so: for after the rump was dissolved there was no legal parliament till the restoration, when all their religious ordinances were annulled; this prediction was published in print in the *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 51, anno 1649, i. e. eleven years before the event."

'Upon this they cried out, I was a traitor, and that all their present troubles were owing to the practices of me, and such as me. I would to God! said I, there were not in this kingdom another kind of traitors, from whom the nation has reason to fear far more real and greater dangers; for all your pretences of popish plots, I defy you to produce any legal proof of any one single treasonable attempt of any catholic, from the beginning of this parliament, to this present day. Then they asked how long I had been a priest? and how many years I had been in England? I answered, that subducting out of my age (which was about 38) 24 years: I had been priest all the rest; and had been about 12 years in England. They asked, How many priests there were of our order in the kingdom? I told them, though I was so free in confessing what related to myself, they were mistaken, if they imagined I would betray my brethren, or bring them into danger; and therefore I should answer nothing upon that head. Here Wadsworth addressed himself to the committee, said, this man is so obstinate and resolute in his way, that he is not afraid to profess, that if you send him out of the nation by one port, he will return by another; which though they interpreted to be a contempt, I there plainly affirmed. They asked me in fine, amongst many other things, whether the bishop of Chalcedon had given orders whilst he was here in England? I told them no: in conclusion, they sent my name, and my examination, which they had taken down in writing, to the lord chief justice, and sent me to Newgate, in order for my trial and execution.

'When I was brought to the court to be tried, I first made the sign of the cross upon my forehead, mouth, and breast, saying aloud, *Per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos deus noster*; and then humbly begged the blessing of the most sacred trinity. The clerk of the sessions ordered me to hold up my hand, and my indictment being read, he asked if I was guilty, or not guilty. I answered, if by guilty you mean a criminal, as if by taking orders I was guilty of any crime or fault, I am not guilty: but a priest I am, and that I will never deny. Then, said they, thou art a traitor. Had the kingdom, said I, no other kind of traitors, it would be in a far better condition than it is at present. At these words the court was silent for a while, and then they cried out, I was a seducer. Now, said I, you give me occasion to rejoice, because you treat me with the same title as the Jews did my Saviour, whom they called a

‘ seducer. I added, that he that first taught the law of Christ to the
 ‘ English nation, (viz. St. Augustine) was a priest like me, and was
 ‘ in like manner sent hither by the pope, viz. St. Gregory the great.

‘ They asked again, if I were guilty or not guilty? I answered,
 ‘ I am not guilty of any treason, or any other capital crime; but I
 ‘ confess I am a priest, and that I was taken at mass; nor will ever
 ‘ deny my priesthood, though I were to die a thousand deaths for it:
 ‘ but to say I am guilty in being a priest, as if there were any guilt in
 ‘ the matter, whereas nothing can be more honourable, that I will
 ‘ never do. Here they made a great outcry, as if I had said, I was
 ‘ not guilty of any sin: I told them they did not take me right, for I
 ‘ acknowledged myself the greatest sinner upon earth; but what I
 ‘ meant was, that my being a priest, or saying mass, was no guilt or
 ‘ sin. Then the recorder said, Mr. Bullaker, you have here confes-
 ‘ sed over and over again, that you are a priest, plead therefore to
 ‘ your indictment directly, guilty or not guilty. I answered as before,
 ‘ I am not guilty of any treason, but a priest I am. He urged, your
 ‘ being a priest makes you guilty of treason, by your transgressing
 ‘ the laws of the land. I answered, that those laws were not to be
 ‘ regarded which were repugnant to the law of God: that the heathens
 ‘ of old, and the Mahometans at present had laws, by which it was
 ‘ death to preach to them the law of Christ, but that the transgression
 ‘ of such laws as these could be no treason. I added, that the parlia-
 ‘ ment which had made that law, by which priests were declared
 ‘ traitors, was certainly not infallible in making laws, a privilege which
 ‘ they would not allow even to the universal church of God, which
 ‘ St. Paul calls *the pillar and ground work of the truth.*’ So far we have
 abridged the confessor’s own account of himself.

The recorder directed the jury to bring him in *guilty* of the indictment: and though, as my author says, they boggled at it, and were for having the case referred to the parliament, he proceeded to pronounce sentence upon him, in the usual form. F. Bullaker could not contain his joy upon this occasion, but falling down on his knees, with hands and eyes lifted up towards heaven, sung the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving to God; then rising, made a profound reverence to the court, thanking them for the great favour they had done him; and so with a remarkable chearfulness and serenity in his countenance was conducted back to Newgate, where he employed the short time that remained of his mortal life in private devotions, and spiritual conferences with such of the faithful as applied to him about the concerns of their souls.

On Wednesday the 12th of October, 1642, he was brought out of prison, and laid on the sledge, and so drawn to Tyburn, shewing all the way a wonderful chearfulness in his countenance. At the place of execution, he spoke to the people upon the text, *Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech*, Psal. cix. He offered to speak of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the blessed sacrament, but was interrupted by the ministers; and after a little time was ordered by the officer to make an end; he readily obeyed, giving them hearty thanks for bringing him thither to

die for the defence of his faith; a happiness which he said he had always aspired after, though he acknowledged himself unworthy of it. He received absolution from one of his brethren, upon giving the sign agreed upon before: and then he employed a short time in silent prayer, standing as it were in contemplation till the cart was drawn away. He was cut down before he was fully dead, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. His heart was saved from the flames by a priest of the same order, whom we just now mentioned: his head was set up on London bridge, and his quarters upon the gates of the city. He suffered in the 38th year of his age, the 19th of his religious profession, the 14th of his priesthood, and the 12th of his mission.

174. * *Thomas Holland, Priest, S. J.*

THOMAS HOLLAND was born in Lancashire in the year 1600, and was sent over very young to the English college of St. Omer's, where he employed six years in his studies, giving so great edification to his fellow students, that he was more than once chosen by their votes prefect of the sodality of our blessed lady; and was remarkable for his talent in exhorting and encouraging his companions to piety and devotion. When he had finished his rhetorick, he was sent into Spain to the English seminary of Valladolid, in Aug. 1621, where he went through the course of his philosophy. Whilst he was here, Charles Prince of Wales arrived at Madrid, on occasion of the match then proposed with the Infanta Maria; and it was thought proper that the English seminaries in that kingdom should make their compliments to their prince upon his safe arrival: Mr. Holland was made choice of for this office by the seminary of Valladolid, and performed his part by a Latin oration, pronounced before the prince, which is said to have given great satisfaction to his royal highness and his attendants.

After three years Mr. Holland returned to Flanders, and entering into the society of Jesus, made his noviceship at Watten; and studied his divinity at Liege, where also he was made priest. From Liege he was sent to St. Omer's, where he was confessor to the scholars, and deservedly gained the esteem and love of all, by his prudence, sweetness, and dexterity in the management of youth, and imprinting in their tender minds the fear and love of God. From St. Omer's he passed to Ghent, where he was for some time minister of the house. He made his last vows, May 28, 1634; and in the following year was sent upon the English mission, in hopes of recovering his health, which at that time was in a very bad state.

The change of air brought no advantage to his health; for the pursuivants being very busy in those days in making strict search after priests; he was forced to lie concealed in the day (London being the seat of his mission) under so close a confinement, that he scarce durst for months together walk out so much as into the garden.

* From his life published in Latin at Antwerp, anno 1645; from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and persons most worthy of credit.

of the house where he was harboured ; by which means, after some time, he in a manner quite lost all appetite, and had even a loathing for his food. Yet notwithstanding these disadvantages, F. Holland found means, especially for the two last years of his mission, when the times were the worst, to be very serviceable to the souls of many, by making frequent excursions amongst the poor, under the favour of the darkness of the night, or early in the morning, and under various disguises, necessary in those evil days, in which he succeeded so well, that sometimes his most intimate friends could not know him in his borrowed dress.

At length he was apprehended on suspicion, October 4, 1642, and committed to the new prison, where he was detained for about two months, till his trial coming on, he was removed to Newgate. His behaviour in prison was such as very much edified all that came near him ; and it was in particular noted, that he seldom went into bed, but spent a great part of the night in prayer. Yet he was very cautious to give his adversaries no advantage or opportunity of gathering from his carriage or behaviour that he was a priest ; so that when he was brought to the bar, December the 7th, to take his trial at the Old Bailey, though four witnesses appeared against him, they could alledge no substantial proofs of his priesthood, but only bare suspicions and presumptions. However, upon these presumptions, and his refusing to swear that he was not a priest, the jury, to the surprise of the lord mayor, and others in the court, brought him in *guilty* ; and on the tenth of the same month, the recorder pronounced sentence of death against him in the usual form. At the hearing of which F. Holland calmly said, *Deo gratias*, thanks be to God ; and being sent back to prison, invited some other catholics there to join with him in reciting the hymn of thanksgiving, *Te Deum laudamus*.

He had now but a short time to live, being to suffer on Monday the 12th of December ; and for this short time the prison was thronged with people of all conditions, as well English as foreigners, that came to visit him. He received them all with a religious modesty, joined with a remarkable chearfulness and courage ; spoke handsomely to them, with a smiling countenance, in their respective languages (for he was a perfect master of the French, Spanish, and Dutch) and his words made a strong impression upon them. The duke of Vendosme, who was then at London, offered him his service, to endeavour to put a stop to the execution : but F. Holland humbly thanked his grace, and desired he would put himself to no trouble about him ; as he had some time before, when he was first apprehended, earnestly entreated his superiors by letter, that they would put themselves to no charges on his account, nor make any interest to save his life.

After F. Holland had allowed a great part of the Saturday to receiving of these visits, he then desired to be alone for the remainder of the evening ; and on the Sunday morning, having heard the confessions of many, he celebrated mass, & administered the blessed sacrament to his penitents ; after which he spent some time by himself in recollection, and the rest of the day in offices of charity to the souls of his neighbours. On this day the Spanish ambassador sent a gentleman to

him, recommending the king and kingdom of Spain to his prayers; and letting him know that he had ordered prayers in his chapel for his happy conflict. The father returned thanks for all favours conferred on him and his, by his excellence and the king his master, and promised that he would pray to God to be their rewarder; and would for that end offer up his last mass on the ensuing morning, for that king and kingdom.

On the next day, being the 12th of December, having celebrated early in the morning the sacred mysteries, he was called down to the sledge about ten, to be drawn to Tyburn. It was observed that neither the sheriff of London, nor the sheriff of Middlesex, was present on this occasion, which some interpreted as a testimony of their being conscious that the prisoner was unjustly condemned. Great multitudes resorted to the place of execution, to be spectators of the last conflict of this servant of God; amongst the rest, the Spanish ambassador with almost all his family. When the sledge was arrived at Tyburn, a father of the society, who had assisted F. Holland in prison, taking him by the hand, bid him be of good courage, and behave himself like a man. To whom the confessor of Christ replied, *with the grace of God, you need not fear; I shall not want courage.* Then arising from the sledge, and perceiving the people to be very silent and attentive in expectation of what he should say, he began to speak to them (making the sign of the cross) to this effect.

‘That he was brought thither to die for being a Roman catholic priest; though this had not been made out by any legal proofs, for which he durst appeal to all and every one present at his trial. However, for the satisfaction of such as desired to know the truth, he there freely acknowledged that he was a catholic and a priest, and by God’s great goodness, a religious man of the society of Jesus, and the first of that order that had been sentenced to death since the beginning of this parliament; for all which favours he returned hearty thanks to the divine goodness.’ Then he proceeded to tell the people, that there could be but one true faith, one true church, and no salvation out of it; when the ordinary of Newgate interrupted him, and bid him say his prayers to himself, whilst he talked with the two malefactors that were to die that day, and sung psalms with them. The father did so, and when the minister had finished, he began to pray with a loud voice that all might hear him, and made fervent acts of faith, hope, charity and contrition, offering his life and his whole being to his Maker, and begging that his sufferings and death might be accepted of through Jesus Christ’s passion, &c. declaring withal, that he forgave from his heart, the judge, jury, witnesses, and all that had any ways concurred to his death: and praying for the king, queen, and all the royal family, for the parliament, and the whole nation; ‘for whose prosperity and conversion to the catholic faith, if I had, said he, as many lives as there are hairs on my head, drops of water in the ocean, or stars in the firmament, I would most willingly sacrifice them all.’ Which last words were received with a shout of the people, in testimony of their approbation.

After this the father turning himself to Gregory the executioner, told

him he forgave him also, and presented him with two crowns of money, which was all he had left. Then shutting his eyes for a while in silent prayer, and a little after opening them, and looking towards his confessor, who was there in the crowd, at this signal given, received his last absolution; after which the cart was drawn away, and he was left hanging till he quietly expired; his eyes being observed to remain fixt on heaven, and his hands all the while joined before his breast. The minister would have had the hangman cut the rope before he was dead, but Jack catch was more humane than the parson, and delayed till his pious soul was let loose from the body; and then he performed the usual butchery. Many of the catholics found means to carry off something of his blood, &c. as relicks. And even there were not wanting some amongst the protestants themselves, who highly admired and praised his virtues.

Father Holland suffered December 12, 1642, *ætatis* 42, *societatis* 19. His true character was, 'That he had extraordinary talents for promoting the greater glory of God, and that he made an extraordinary use of them. His knowledge in spirituals was such, that he was termed *the Library of Piety, Bibliotheca Pietatis*: and wherever he was in company, whatever the subject of the conversation happened to be, he would by a dexterous turn bring it to some moral or gospel instruction for the advantage of the company; imitating the great saint Xaverius, of whom it used to be said, that in his conversation with the people of the world, he *would go in at their door, and come out at his own.*'

1643.—This year, two venerable priests were put to death at Tyburn, both of the order of St. Francis; the first was

175. * *Henry Heath, Priest, O. S. F.*

HENRY Heath was born at Peterborough about the year 1600. His parents were protestants, who brought him up to learning, and sent him to St. Bennet's college in Cambridge, where he remained about five years. The life he led here, whilst yet a protestant, was far more religious than that of his companions; and his ardour for learning was so great, that he rose at two in the morning winter and summer to his studies being now made batchelor of arts, and chosen librarian of the college, and having before observed, as he thought, some defects in the principles of his religion, he was resolved, having gotten books and opportunity, to examine the matter more thoroughly. Wherefore being willing to hear both sides speak in their own cause, he first reads Bellarmin, and then Whitaker against him. But behold, instead of satisfying his doubts by this inquiry, he discovers another defect, viz. the unfair dealing of Whitaker in citing his authors, whereas he found Bellarmin always faithful in his quotations. This made him think better of the catholic religion, and eager to look far-

* From *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 63, and from his life printed in English at Douay, anno 1674.

ther into it. Upon this he reads the ancient fathers, and finding them to deliver the catholic faith, he is inflamed with the love of the old religion, and seeks to communicate the same sentiments to his fellow collegians: four of whom by his means not only left the college, but soon after the world too, and all became religious men, three in the holy order of St. Francis, and the fourth in the society of Jesus. Mr. Heath upon those proceedings perceived that Cambridge would quickly be too warm for him, and therefore quitted the university, and came up to London in order to be reconciled to the catholic church. With this view he applies to the Spanish ambassador, but meets with no countenance. Then he addresses himself to a catholic gentleman "Mr. George Jarnagan" who also rejects him, suspecting his sincerity. In these streights not knowing how to meet with a priest, or which way to turn himself, he remembers what he had read of the devotions of catholics to the saints, and especially to the blessed virgin, and what helps they received by applying to her for her intercession, and is resolved to make a trial of this devotion; when behold, on a sudden the same Mr. Jarnagan, who had a little while before rejected him with reproach, meets with him, treats him most courteously, and conducts him to Mr. George Muscot, a strenuous labourer in the Lord's vineyard, afterwards president of Douay college, who heard his confession, reconciled him to God and his church, and sent him over to Douay recommended to Dr. Kellison, then president of the college; who received him kindly, and admitted him amongst the convictors of that community.

Mr. Heath had not been long at Douay, when seeing at the college some of the English friars who had been lately established in that city, and being informed of their rule and manner of life, he found a strong call to embrace that penitential institute. He communicated his desires to his confessor, and by him to the president and seniors: who approved of his vocation, and recommended him to the superiors of the English franciscans; who willingly received him, first to the habit, and then after a year's noviceship (in which he gave great proofs of a most solid virtue) to his religious profession. In religion he took the name of brother Paul of St. Magdalen, and for about nineteen years that he lived in the convent, he led a life of extraordinary perfection.

He fasted four or five of the seven days of the week for many years together, upon bread and small-beer; he constantly wore a rough hair-cloth, and an iron chain or girdle under his habit; he used frequent disciplines besides those of the order; when he slept, he seldom indulged himself even the poor convenience of the straw-bed allowed by the rule, but spreading a blanket upon the floor, laid himself down in his habit upon it; and after rising at midnight with the rest of the community to matins, he frequently prolonged his prayer till prime in the morning. As to his interior, it appears by certain regulations which he made for himself, and which were found, written in his own hand, after his death, that he obliged himself constantly to make a meditation after matins, to practice aspirations of the love of Jesus a hundred times in the day; to mortify upon every occasion his eyes, his tongue, his passions and affections; to support the defects of all, without murmur; to suffer incommodities, and want of necessaries, with a pure resignation; to re-

gard God and his service only, and not to seek the affection and esteem of creatures; to abstain from recreations; to retrench all unnecessary discourse, &c. to which he added these three rules: '1st. Of renouncing all right and authority in every thing whatsoever, even in my good name, and corporal conveniences; that I may willingly suffer myself to be spoiled of all things for God's sake. 2dly. Offering myself as a servant to every creature, that I may do him all good, expecting no profit thereby, although I may, but crosses and afflictions. 3dly. To live as absolutely dead to the defects of others, that I may continually find out and lament my own defects.'

His constant attention to God did not hinder him from making great progress in the sciences both human and divine; for the attaining to which, he had both good opportunities, and great abilities: no less than thirty treatises, on different subjects, of his compiling, are still preserved in his own hand-writing, in his convent, as lasting monuments of his learning. He was for many years first reader, or professor of divinity, and gained great esteem in the university. He was also twice guardian, or superior of his convent, and was preferred to other honourable employs in his order, as that of *custos*, *custodum*, *commissary provincial* in the parts of Flanders, &c. of all which he acquitted himself with great prudence and vigilancy. In the mean time, his charity for his poor countrymen that were gone astray from the fold of Christ, was very remarkable; and he laboured with great zeal and success in reclaiming as many of them as came in his way, from their errors and sins.

It was in the year 1641, that father Heath seems to have taken the resolution of quitting his convent, and entering upon the English mission, and this in hopes of meeting there with the crown of martyrdom. Two priests had been put to death in 1641, and seven more were sentenced to die for the same cause, that is, for their being in orders, and exercising their functions in England. Amongst the latter was father Colman, a franciscan, a cotemporary of father Heath, and his intimate friend. It was in the month of December, 1641, that these confessors received the sentence of death, and the news no sooner reached Douay, but father Heath took up his pen, and wrote an excellent letter to these seven condemned priests, who daily looked for the dead warrant. Take here a part of the letter in his own words, which clearly demonstrate the spirit of the writer, and the desire he had of bearing part in their sufferings.

'O ye most glorious men! most noble friends, and most courageous soldiers of Christ Jesus!—How great is my unhappiness, that I am not permitted to come to you, that I may be partaker of your chains, and offer myself to be consumed with that ardent love of Jesus Christ, which in your trials hath made you so constant and victorious over human fears. O good Jesus! what is the crime I am guilty of, for which I am not to be permitted to enjoy your company, seeing there is nothing in this world I desire more? nor indeed is it possible that any thing can satisfy me, so long as I am kept from you. Wherefore I humbly beseech you, for the love of God, to pray for me, that I may come to you, and never be separated from you.'

About the same time, he wrote to his provincial for his consent,

that he might go upon the mission. This letter runs in much the same strain as the former. 'Alas! most dear sir, says he, I only require this; your obedientials; after this, nothing stays me; if I can get your consent but in one word, I will not endure to be kept from you a moment's time. Why, sir, you cannot allow that soldier to be a man of courage, who, hearing that the army is drawn up in battle array, the drums and trumpets sounding to the charge, and yet shall indulge himself at home in sloth and cowardice. I am unfit, I deny not, and altogether unworthy to discharge this apostolic duty, or presume to suffer for the name of Christ; but his apostle has assured us, that *virtue is perfected in infirmity*, and that God has chosen the foolish, that he may confound the wise. Our most benign Lord inspire you to hasten your consent, and I shall eternally remain your poor child.'

Paul Magd.

His provincial returned him an answer, that *after some time* he might be permitted to leave his convent, and go upon the mission, but that as yet he could not be spared: upon this he applies himself to father Angelus Mason, the commissary provincial residing in Flanders, and casting himself upon his knees, with abundance of tears besought him to send him away, for that he found such strong desires of going upon the mission, that he perfectly languished away, and could not rest night or day: and that he thought the likeness of the hangman putting the rope about his neck was always before his eyes; which last words (says this superior, page 99) he spoke with such a feeling, and with such an emphasis in their delivery, that had you seen him, you would have said the man did verily think himself standing under the gallows, in the hands of the executioner. But though father Mason, (who afterwards wrote the life and martyrdom of father Heath, in his *Certamen Seraphicum*) was very much affected with his words, yet he could not be induced to yield, for the present, to father Heath's petition; who being strongly persuaded, that his desire to go to England was a call from God, was resolved to try one other expedient, which, as we shall see, procured what he desired.

He was wonderfully devoted to the blessed virgin, and had seldom or never failed to obtain of God Almighty, what he had particularly recommended to her prayers and intercession. Of this my author * acknowledges these wonderful instances: when he was guardian of the convent, a pestilential fever had taken root there, and had carried off some of the religious; others were ill, and himself not without some suspicion of having contracted the infection: but what added to his affliction, was, that the wants of the community were at the same time extraordinary great, with little prospect of relief from any quarter. Here he applied himself to this *mother of consolation*, and immediately his tears were dried up, and his fears dissipated; his sick brethren recovered, and a plentiful and seasonable supply of necessaries for the support of his convent (reduced at that time almost to the extremities of want) was brought in by the citizens. His father had hitherto continued

* From an epistle or prayer found in father Heath's own hand.

protestant, proof against all arguments, and now upon the brink of his grave; father Heath recommends his almost desperate condition to the care of the virgin Mary; when behold on a sudden the feeble old man, aged fourscore, crosses the sea, and unexpectedly calls for his son in his convent at Douay, there to abjure his errors, and to be taken into the catholic church. These, with other great favours, father Heath had received from the hand of God, by the prayers of the virgin Mary, and therefore was resolved to try this expedient in the present exigency; and to make a pilgrimage for this purpose to our lady of Montacute, a place of great devotion in Brabant. He took Gand in his way, where he applied himself to father Marchant, the commissary general of his order, but all in vain: so to Montacute he goes, and there makes his supplication to the blessed virgin. Now see the fruit of these devotions: he takes his journey back by Gand, and there again applies himself to father Marchant, humbly entreating him for leave to go upon the English mission, to labour there in the conversion of his country, and lay down his life in defence of the truth. What rhetoric he employed now with the commissary (who had before given him a flat denial) the compiler of his life has not acquainted us. But certain it is, that he expressed himself to him in a most pathetic manner, and made such a vigorous assault, that the good old father was glad to capitulate, and surrender at last upon terms. We have here father Marchant's relation in his own words: 'this man, says he, inebriated with the spirit, some months since came to our presence, desiring, according to his rule, to go to the English that were gone astray from the faith, alledging no other reason than this: that he might shed his blood, that he might be slain with and for the English, his brethren according to the flesh. I was against it; I commended indeed his spirit, though moved with too much fervour. At last I signed his obedientials, upon condition his immediate superior would join his approbation.' Now this was the English commissary father Mason, to whom father Heath had formerly applied, and had been refused. He goes to him therefore now again, and shews him his letter of leave signed by father Marchant, but is still answered, that he cannot be spared. However, the commissary promises to take the matter into consideration, and recommend it to God. He did so; and though he had resolved to refuse his consent, yet after all (and he calls God to witness, that what he says is the real truth) he felt a secret impulse, strongly determining him to join his approbation.

Father Heath having now gained his point, made haste back to his convent, to bid adieu to his brethren, and to set forward upon his journey to England with all convenient speed. His friends were surprised to see what a change the joy of his heart had now made in his very looks, by an unusual gaiety and chearfulness which shone in his countenance. They would have provided him secular apparel, and money for his journey, but this he modestly refused, and set out from Douay pennyless and barefoot in his friar's habit. When he came to Dunkirk, he procured a taylor to metamorphose his friar's weed into a coat, waistcoat, and breeches, and to turn his capuche into a kind of a sailor's cap, in which he sewed up some writings in defence of the catholic religion: and thus equipped he goes on board. Here he meets with a German gentleman,

who being much taken with the modest and humble deportment of the good man, not only paid for his passage, and provided him necessaries during his voyage, but also kindly offered him money to bear his charges from Dover to London, which father Heath modestly refused, and so made the best of his way barefoot, begging a bit of bread for God's sake, when hunger compelled him to it.

At London he arrives wearied, as well he might, having travelled barefoot forty miles that day, and it being the winter season. It is now time to take up his quarters, and give some little rest and refreshment to the body. But how shall this be done, for money he has none, nor acquaintance? however, he ventures to call at the Star inn, near London Bridge, but the people of the house finding he had no money, turned him out of doors at eight o'clock, in a cold winter night; and where now to put his head, and what course to take till morning, he knew not. At length wearied with standing in the streets, he resolved to lie down at some citizen's door, where he might meet with some little shelter from the cold air; and accordingly he laid himself down, and composed himself to rest, designing in the morning to call upon father Colman, in Newgate.

After some time the master of the house coming home, stumbles upon him, and taking him to be a shoplifter, calls the watch, sends for a constable, and upon a strict search discovers the writings that were concealed in his cap. Upon this he is committed to the Compter, and the next day is carried before my lord mayor, where his writings and himself being examined, he owned himself to be a priest, and so was sent to Newgate. After some days he was examined by a committee of the parliament, to whom he also owned himself a priest; and being asked to what intent he came into England, he frankly told them, he came upon a very lawful and commendable business, viz. the conversion of his countrymen from sin and heresy. What heresy? said they. Even the Protestant heresy, said he, the Puritan heresy, the Anabaptist heresy, the heresy of the Brownists, and many others. Being told that his coming over was against the laws of the nation, he answered, that the preaching of the apostles was also against the laws of the nations to which they preached; and that his coming over to preach the gospel in England, could no more be treason than the preaching of Christ and his apostles.

Soon after this he was brought to the bar, being indicted upon the 27th of Elizabeth for being a priest, and returning into England, and therefore guilty of high-treason. The trial was soon over, for as he had acknowledged himself a priest, he was brought in guilty of the indictment; and accordingly received sentence as in cases of high-treason; which as soon as he had heard, making a low reverence to the bench, he said, 'my lords, I give you thanks for the singular honour you have done me; for now I shall die for Christ.'

During the short interval betwixt his condemnation and execution, the prison was continually thronged with crowds of visitants from all parts of the town, as well protestants as catholics: amongst the former were reckoned above 40 ministers, who came to confer with him in

matters of religion; some of them seemed very much to pity him; and all in general spoke well of him, as a man of great parts and learning. As to the catholics, they came to confess to him, or to consult him in matters of conscience; so that with one and the other, he could scarce get a moment's time for a little repose.

On the day of execution, being called for by the officers of justice, he readily obeyed the summons, and immediately went down into the street, where the sledge was placed, with a modest chearfulness in his looks. He offered to lay himself down on the ground to be drawn in that manner over the stones and through the mire; but this was not allowed; so he was laid on the sledge, and drawn according to sentence to Tyburn: when he came thither he readily and chearfully got up into the cart under the gallows, saying with an audible voice, *into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.* The rope being about his neck, and having obtained leave to speak, he protested that his return into England was for no other design, but that he might spend his life and labours in the conversion of his country; and that this was the only cause for which he was brought to that place to suffer an ignominious death. But a minister interrupted him, saying, that he was not condemned for religion, but for seducing the people. Father Heath calmly replied, with no other justice can I be called a seducer by you, than with what my Lord Jesus Christ was called a seducer by the Jews. Here he was commanded to be silent, and he readily obeyed; and not being able to obtain what he desired (viz. to hang naked like his crucified Saviour) joining his hands before his breast, his eyes shut, he employed about half an hour in profound recollection and silent prayer, without any other sensible motion but now and then a devout sigh. After that he had recited aloud the church hymn for a martyr, *Martyr Dei, qui unicum, &c.* it being the day of St. Anicetus pope and martyr, for his last prayer, he made use of these short aspirations: *my Jesus, pardon me my sins! Jesus, convert England! Jesus, have mercy on this country! O England, turn thyself to the Lord thy God!* After which the cart was drawn away, and he left hanging, his hands lifted up towards heaven, and his eyes cast down; and in this posture he quietly expired. After his death he was cut down, bowelled and quartered; and his quarters fixt upon four of the city gates, and his head upon London bridge.

N. B. He reconciled in the very cart one of the malefactors that were executed with him.

He suffered on the 17th of April, 1643, in the 43d year of his age, and the 20th of his religious profession.

Father Heath a little before the sentence of death was passed upon him, wrote out of prison the following letter to a priest, his intimate friend.

Very reverend father,

‘ Your consolations have rejoiced my soul. The judges have not yet
‘ given sentence. I beseech the divine goodness that it may answer my
‘ desires, that I may suffer death for my Lord Jesus Christ. Alas, fa-
‘ ther! what other thing can I desire than to suffer with Christ, to be
‘ reproached with Christ, to be crucified with Christ, to die a thousand

‘ deaths that I may live for ever with Christ? for if it be the glory of a
 ‘ soldier to be made like his lord, *God forbid I should glory in any thing*
 ‘ *but in the cross* of my crucified Lord. Let then the executioners come,
 ‘ let them come, let them tear my body in pieces, let them gnaw my
 ‘ flesh with their teeth, let them pierce me through and through, and
 ‘ grind me to dust. For I know, I know full well how profitable it
 ‘ will be for me to die for Christ. *The moment of this suffering doth*
 ‘ *work an eternal weight of glory* in heaven. May your reverend pater-
 ‘ nity be pleased to pray for me a miserable sinner, who will ever be in
 ‘ the wounds of Christ, until death be swallowed up in victory.

Your reverence's most humble servant,

F. Paul of St. Magdalen

It is also remarked of F. Heath, in Mr. Ireland's diary of Douay college, that he declared in prison, though he always was convinced that the martyrs found much joy and consolation when they were to suffer for Christ; yet he never could have imagined this delight to be so exceeding great, as he now found by his own experience.

It is likewise the tradition of the English franciscans in Douay, that when F. Heath was executed at Tyburn, the first that had the news of it in their convent, was his aged father, then a lay-brother amongst them, informed by a vision of his son.

177. * *Arthur Bell, Priest, O. S. F.*

ARTHUR Bell, who in religion was called father Francis, was born August 13, 1590, at Temple Broughton, the seat of his father, in the parish of Hanbury, six miles from Worcester: his parents were both virtuous, and of good families, his mother being sister to Francis Daniel, esq. of Acton Place, near Long Melford in Suffolk. He was brought up in the fear of God, and in grammar learning, privately at home in his mother's house, who was left a widow when he was eight years of age; afterwards he lived for some years with his uncle Daniel in Suffolk. At the age of 24, he went over to the English college of St. Omer's, where he employed a year in the study of rhetorick; and then was sent, by the fathers of the society, to the English college of St. Alban the martyr in Valladolid; where he studied his philosophy, and some part of his divinity, and was made priest; and not long after, took the habit of St. Francis, in the convent of Segobia, August 9, 1618; and having very much edified the whole community during the year of his probation, he was by the unanimous votes of all admitted to his solemn vows and profession, September 8, 1619. Not long after, F. Gennings, being about the restoring the English Franciscan province, and having authority from the general to call to him for this purpose the English friars, wherever they were to be found, sent for F. Bell from Spain to the English convent newly erected at Douay, where he employed two years more in the study of divinity, and then was made con-

* From *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 127, &c. and from a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's.

fessor, first of the poor Clares at Graveline, and afterwards of the nuns of the third order of St. Francis, at that time residing in Brussels, till about the year 1630, when he was chosen guardian for the first time of the convent of the English Franciscans at Douay, and made definitor of the province; discharging at the same time the office of lector or professor of the Hebrew tongue. But before he had gone through the usual term of his guardianship, he was called to Brussels by F. Joseph Bergaigne, the commissary-general of the order (afterwards archbishop of Cambray) and for the restoring the province of Scotland, was appointed its first provincial, and sent in that quality to the general chapter then held in Spain. After his return he was sent by the same commissary-general upon the English mission, where he arrived September 8, 1634. He laboured with great zeal, for nine years, in the mission, in converting souls to Christ, and then received the crown of martyrdom for his reward, which for the space of twenty years he had earnestly prayed for.

He was apprehended on the 6th of November, 1643, at Stevenedge in Hertfordshire, by the parliament soldiers, upon suspicion of his being a spy; who, upon a strict search, found in his bags some papers, in which he had written out the lessons of the office of the blessed sacrament, and a form of blessing the cord of the confraternity of St. Francis, &c. which, after sending for the school-master of the town to interpret them, appeared (not only to these military men, but also afterwards to the committee of the parliament) dangerous matters: especially the form of blessing the cord, which they imagined to be some spell or conjuration. That day and the following night he passed under the guard of four soldiers, and the next morning was searched again, when they found about him a letter in Spanish, addressed to, or designed for, the Spanish ambassador, then residing in London, in which was made mention of his being of the order of St. Francis: so that now they resolve to secure him, no longer as a spy, but as a suspected priest. This drew many officers and others to the place where he was detained. One of them asked him what religion he was of? he readily answered, I am a catholic. What! said the other, a Roman catholic? How do you mean a Roman? said father Bell. I am an Englishman. There is but one catholic church, and of that I am a member. They all said, he was in the right to own his religion: that, said he, I will do, with the grace of God, to my last breath. Another asked him if he believed the pope to be the head of the catholic church? He answered in the affirmative; upon which there arose a dispute concerning the church and the pope, but in a confused manner, as is usual to this kind of disputants, who are ever running from one point to another: they brought their bibles to confute him, but in vain; for he shewed them that they had shamefully corrupted even their very scriptures. In conclusion, he told them their arguing against church authority and infallibility, and grounding all things in religion upon the weak and uncertain bottom of private judgment, and private interpretation of the scriptures (liable, as they acknowledged, to error) was not a way to invite him to their religion; for that it would be a very unequal change to part with a church (which he was assured was an infallible guide, by the divine promises, as recorded in scripture) for a religion which owned itself liable to error, and

could give no assurance to its followers that it was not leading them on in the broad way of eternal damnation. Such an exchange as this, said he, would be like that which your soldiers have obliged me to make, who have taken away my cloaths that were whole, and given me nothing but rags in their place. In fine, at parting he told them plainly and sincerely, that no salvation could be hoped for out of the catholic church, and that he wished them all to be even as he was, excepting his present state of confinement.

From Stevenedge he was carried before the committee then sitting in Hartfordshire, to whom all his papers were delivered; with a particular caution to look well to him, for that he had a spell amongst his papers, by means of which he could get out of any prison or dungeon; for such they supposed to be that form of the benediction of the cord of St. Francis, which was found amongst his papers. Here he was examined, whether he had ever been beyond the seas? He answered, yes. Whether he had taken holy orders there? He answered, that as this was by their laws deemed a crime, he was not to be his own accuser. Upon this he was given over to Jones the city marshal, to be by him conducted the next day to town; who stript him of what the soldiers had left, and set him on horseback, half naked as he was, in his rags, and so carried him to London, making him a subject of mockery to the people, in all the towns and villages through which they passed; whilst F. Bell, as appears by his own written relation, so far from taking this in evil part, thought this cavalcade of his *too great a pomp for one whose profession obligeth him to take up his cross every day, and follow Christ*. When they were arrived in town, the marshal (who before in searching him had found the key of his trunk) found means to get the trunk into his hands, and seized upon it, and all its contents as a lawful prize. 'Tis true the committee of the parliament, by whom F. Bell was shortly after examined, upon hearing the case ordered the marshal to return his goods; for as he was not as yet convicted, he had certainly a right to keep what was his. But the marshal, though he promised to return them, never did it. 'I shall never hear any more, says F. Bell, of my goods, till the day of judgment; and then I fear I shall be blamed for transgressing holy poverty, by having so many goods to lose; for I firmly believe these men were appointed by God to put me in mind of my vocation. Thanks be to God for it.' Such were the dispositions of this holy man.

In his examination before the committee of the parliament, being questioned concerning the Spanish letter that was found about him, he acknowledged that he was a poor penitent of the order of St. Francis, but would not satisfy them as to the point of his priesthood; so he was committed to Newgate in order to take his trial at the next sessions. But before these things were transacted, his brethren had made choice of him to be, for the second time, guardian or superior of their convent at Douay, which office had been vacant ever since the martyrdom of F. Heath, who was actually guardian when he came over to England, where he so quickly met with the crown he sought, F.

Bell had not been full four and twenty hours in Newgate when his provincial's letter was brought to him, requiring of him in virtue of obedience to fill up the vacancy: and not long after he received the patents for that office from F. Marchant, the commissary general. His answers both to the one and the other are worthy to be recorded.—To his provincial he writes as follows:

Reverend Father,

‘ I received your command with all humility and readiness at the very time that I was putting it in execution: for I took possession of F. Paul's place in Newgate about twenty hours before yours came to my knowledge. As to what remains, I beg your prayers that I may persevere to the end; and I beg of all christians, with St. Andrew, that they would not hinder my suffering, &c.

Your poor Brother,

F. BELL.’

To the commissary general he returned the following answer:

Most Reverend Father, obedience and reverence.

‘ I received the command of your most reverend paternity with humility, and am disposed with all possible readiness to put it in execution as soon as this present impediment which stands in the way shall be removed. Now the impediment is this. On the 6th of November, O. S. I was apprehended on my way to London, by the parliamentary soldiers, and being examined, and found to be a catholic, I was put under the custody of four soldiers night and day. And after I had been stript of all things, sword, money, cloaths, and even my very shirt, and clad in an old tattered coat of some poor soldier, I was brought before the parliament at London, where being again examined, I was found out by certain arguments to be a friar minor, which I did not deny; and being withal suspected to be a priest according to the order of the Roman church, I was for this reason committed to the prison of Newgate. I am to be tried on the 5th of December, what will then be done with me my Lord Jesus Christ knows, with whom I am ready to go to the cross, and to death, if his mercy will vouchsafe to extend itself so far as to be willing to accept of the sacrifice of such and so great a sinner: but if I am still necessary to his people, the will of our Lord be done. I have begged death for Christ. This I will continue to beg for. My sinful life has been a long time hateful to me. Pardon me, I know what is for my profit; to die is my gain. I humbly beg your prayers, and those of my brethren, that if (as I wish) it be my lot to die, I may depart with obedience in the grace of Christ; and with St. Andrew I beseech all christian people not to be a hinderance to my death. If I shall not be condemned to die, I will labour by all lawful means to procure my liberty, that I may be able to obey, as it is my duty, the command I have received. God preserve your reverence,’ &c.

Newgate, Nov. 22, 1643.

F. Bell was not tried on the 5th of December, as he expected, but on the 7th of that month. The witnesses that appeared against him

were Wadsworth, Mayo, and Thomas Gage, all apostates from the catholic religion, and the last also from his religious vows. Wadsworth deposed, that he knew him twenty years before at Brussels, in the habit of St. Francis, and that he was esteemed by all as an honest plain friar. Mayo declared, that he knew him at Graveline, in the monastery of the poor Clares, and that he was one of the priests of that monastery, and that also he knew him at the convent of the English Franciscans at Douay. Gage made oath, that the prisoner lived for some time at London, with a lady, a near relation of his, where he had often heard him say mass; and that he remembered his complaining to him of his kinswoman's rising so late, that he could seldom begin mass before 12 o'clock. F. Bell excepted against all the witnesses as infamous apostates, who having broken their faith to God, deserved none with men. And as to the jury, he said, he hoped they were christians; 'that he was certainly not a priest of the Levitical order of Aaron; and that it would not be wisdom, if any one had a call from God to the priesthood, to neglect the fountain-head, and to take up with troubled water.' The recorder told him, he spoke mysteriously; and asked if he had any thing else to say? He answered, no. Upon which the jury going out, after a short deliberation, pronounced him *guilty*; for which verdict the holy man returned them thanks.

In the afternoon he was brought again to the bar, and asked what he had to say why sentence should not pass upon him. Upon which occasion he expressed himself in the following manner: 'My accusers have given in their depositions against me, and my jury has pronounced me guilty: I return them my most hearty thanks, for I shall most willingly, and with the greatest joy, die with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, my cause being the same as theirs. And since I am going to speak of a matter of equal or greater importance than was that of which the prophets spoke of old, let me invoke heaven and earth with them: be astonished, O ye heavens! and be thou covered with confusion, O earth! to see a christian state, at least that pretends to profess Christ and his gospel, to make that priesthood high treason which was founded and established by Christ and his gospel; that priesthood, I say, which supports the gospel, and is supported by it. It was for this reason I asked in the morning whether the gentlemen of the jury were christians, intimating that christians might perhaps condemn the priests of the order of Aaron, but not those of the institution of Christ; as on the other hand Jews would condemn christian priests, but not their own. What before appeared to you mysterious, I now explain. Whoever has a call from God to the priesthood, let him seek it there, where there is a certain and undoubted succession never interrupted from Christ's time, viz. in the Roman communion; and not there, where the succession is called in question, or rather, where without all question it has certainly failed, as it has amongst protestants; for it is certain, there is no true priesthood in the protestant church.'

Thus far they heard him with patience; but here one of the bench interrupted him, telling him, that the laws under which a man is

born, are to be obeyed. It is true, said father Bell, and if I had been born among pagans, I should have obeyed their laws, if they were not contrary to the law of God. "But as for these unchristian laws, by which priests are put to death," know for certain, 'That the makers of them have long since received their just rewards; and let all such look to themselves in time, and to their own consciences, who are, or shall hereafter, by reason of their office, be in the occasion of putting them in execution.' Serjeant Green the recorder pronounced sentence in the usual form, at which father Bell is said to have joyfully intoned the *Te Deum*, and to have returned hearty thanks to the court; who also, on their part, seemed to pity his case, and exhorted him to conformity: he told them, he had much more reason to pity their case, and that he begged of God's mercy, they might not have far more grievous torments to suffer in the next world, than those he was to endure in this.

During the three days which father Bell remained in prison, between the sentence of death and the execution, he was visited by great numbers of catholics, as well English as foreigners; some coming to beg his blessing, others to get something of him, which they might keep as a relick, &c. all admiring the chearfulness and joy which appeared in his words and countenance. Amongst the rest, the imperial envoy came more than once to see him: to whom the man of God declared, that he would not exchange his present condition for that of the emperor his master. The French ambassador also sent to him, to desire his prayers; and he being one whom the parliament at that time had great regard to, Monsieur Charles Marchant, his chief chaplain, was in great hopes, by this means, to have put a stop to the execution: but father Bell frankly told this good priest, when he spoke to him in prison upon that subject, that instead of a friend, as he had hitherto esteemed him, he should look upon him as his capital enemy, if by his means he should be deprived of the crown which he had so long desired; and therefore conjured him to lay aside all thoughts of hindering his death, which would be to him the gate of life,

On the 11th of December, the holy man was brought out of prison, laid upon a hurdle, and drawn by four horses to Tyburn, the serenity and sweetness of his countenance speaking all the way the interiour disposition of his soul. When he came to the place of execution, he said, *Now I see verified in me, what was foretold me by happy Thomas Bullaker.* Who, it seems, when father Bell was complaining to him in prison, that as he was the elder brother in religious profession, he ought rather to have gone before him, replied, *God will have me to go first, but you shall soon follow me.* Then being put up into the cart, and having leave of the sheriff (who treated him with a great deal of humanity) to speak to the people, he delivered himself to them in these, or the like words: 'Dear countrymen, give ear to me, and as you desire to be delivered from your present miseries, put an end to your sins; for, without all doubt, your enormous crimes are the cause of the calamities under which you groan. But above all, I exhort you to renounce heresy, in which you have been

‘ so long engaged : for this (with grief I speak it) has cut you off like
 ‘ putrid members from the true body of Christ, and like dead branches
 ‘ from the tree of his church. But if you resolve to persist in loving
 ‘ darkness more than light, long afflictions will attend you : and cer-
 ‘ tainly, many calamities and miseries threaten this city, and the
 ‘ whole kingdom, unless they desist from persecuting priests and ca-
 ‘ tholics. See and consider, I beseech you, the afflictions with which
 ‘ God has begun visibly to punish you ; and be assured, that all these
 ‘ punishments are tokens of his love, and a manifest testimony that
 ‘ he would not destroy you but as it were by constraint. I say it
 ‘ again, all these chastisements, civil wars, and calamities are inflict-
 ‘ ed upon you by him, to the end, that he may at length, from ship-
 ‘ wreck, bring you into the haven of the catholic church. Abuse then
 ‘ no longer his goodness and mercy ; do not force him to destroy you,
 ‘ by continuing to provoke his divine justice, by obstinacy in your
 ‘ evils.’

Here being interrupted by the sheriff, he said no more, but turn-
 ing himself to one of the malefactors who were to suffer with him, he
 spoke to him some words of exhortation and comfort, and had the satis-
 faction to see him resolved to die a member of the catholic church.
 He also addressed himself to the hangman with a chearful countenance,
 and embracing him, gave him wholesome advice for the salvation of
 his soul ; with which, and many other things he spoke, the people
 being much moved, the officers hastened the execution, and ordered
 the cart to be drawn away. He hanged for the space of one *Miserere*,
 and then was cut down, dismembered, bowelled, and quartered. In
 stripping him, they found under his secular coat, the habit of his
 order, which it seems, he was accustomed to wear ; upon which oc-
 casion, the people cried out, with astonishment, see what mortified
 men these are, who so much despise the pleasures of the world !
 Guards were appointed to hinder the catholics from carrying off any
 thing by way of relick ; yet this did not prevent some from dipping
 their handkerchiefs, or other things in his blood. He suffered Decem-
 ber 11, 1643, in the 54th year of his age, the 25th of his religious
 profession, and 9th of his mission.

N. B. That a little before father Bell’s trial and execution, there
 happened to be taken at Yarmouth in Norfolk, one Mr. Walter Wind-
 sor, a catholic gentleman, or, as some say, a priest ; whose papers
 being seized, there was found amongst them, a letter from the arch-
 bishop of Cambray, to some priests upon the mission, with a copy of
 a brief of pope Urban the VIIIth, sent to the said archbishop, by
 which he was directed to nominate and impower certain priests, then
 upon the mission, to make diligent enquiry *into the cause and manner*
of death of several priests, lately executed upon the penal statutes,
 and to transmit the account thereof to Rome. Now the persons deput-
 ed for this business, by the archbishop’s letter, were these : for Lon-
 don, and all the counties on the south of the river Trent, George
 Gage, D. D. protonotary apostolical ; father Thomas Dade, provin-
 cial of the Dominicans ; father Bennet Cox, O. S. B. and father
 Francis Bell, definitor, O. S. F. For York, and the northern coun-

ties, Mr. Phillips, confessor to the queen; Mr. George Catherick; father Robert Haddock, provincial of the benedictins; and father William Anderton, O. S. F. These were commissioned personally to such places where informations were likely to be had, and to call before them persons of credit and integrity, who had been acquainted with the said priests, and the particulars of their trials and behaviours at the place of execution; and to take their depositions upon oath, and to put them down in writing, with the names of the deponents, and to certify the same in due form to the archbishop. Now these papers coming to the hands of the parliament at this conjuncture, are by some supposed to have hastened the execution of father Bell, who was one of the persons nominated in the archbishop's letter. Certain it is, at least, that they were published by order of parliament, the very day that father Bell was brought upon his trial: being printed by Husband, printer to the parliament, December 7, 1643.

This year the parliament made and published several rigorous acts and ordinances against delinquents, as they called them, and papists; by which all, whether catholics or others, that had already, or should hereafter assist the king against the parliament, were to have their whole estate seized and sequestered into the hands of committees, named to that purpose; and all catholics, as such, without any other offence, were to forfeit two thirds of their whole estates, real and personal, unless they would take an oath, by which they abjured the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, worship of the host, &c. With what rigour these acts were put in execution, we shall see hereafter.

1644.—This year the civil wars continuing, two priests of the venerable order of St. Benedict lost their lives by the savage cruelty of the parliament soldiers, of whom thus writes father B. W. in his manuscript: 'father Boniface Kempe, alias Kipton, professed at Mount-serrat, in Spain, with father Ildephonse Hesketh, in the civil wars in 1644, were taken by parliament soldiers, and driven on foot before them in the heat of summer; by which cruel and outrageous usage they were so heated and spent, that they either forthwith or soon after died.'

This same year also, as Mr. Austin writes (under the name of William Birchley) in his Christian Moderator, Mr. Price, a catholic gentleman, was murdered at Lincoln, in hatred of his religion. The story he relates thus: 'I remember an officer of my acquaintance, under the earl of Manchester, told me, that at their taking of Lincoln from the cavaliers, in the year 1644, he was an eye-witness to this tragedy. The next day after the town was taken, some of our (the parliament) common soldiers, in cold blood, meeting with Mr. Price of Wasingley, in Huntingdonshire, a papist, asked him, *Art thou Price the papist?* I am, said he, *Price the Roman catholic:* whereupon one of them immediately shot him dead.'

Likewise two reverend priests were executed this year at Tyburn

for their character, viz. Mr. John Duckett, of the secular clergy, and father Ralph Corby of the society of Jesus.

178. **John Duckett, Priest.*

JOHN Duckett was the third son of James Duckett, (by his wife Mrs. Frances Girlington) a gentleman of an ancient family, but small estate. He was born a Underwinder, in the parish of Sedbergh in Yorkshire, anno 1613. He performed his studies in the English college of Douay, and received all his orders there, being made priest in September, 1639. After he was ordained, he went to Paris, in company of Mr. Francis Gage, (afterwards Doctor of Sorbon, and president of Douay college) and there remained three years in the college of Arras. The Douay diary takes notice, that he was much addicted to mental prayer, so that whilst he was yet a student in the college, he was known to have employed whole nights in those heavenly communications: however, as he was very humble and discreet, when he was going upon the English mission, not content with having before conferred at Paris with some very spiritual persons, who approved of his way of prayer, (though what passed therein betwixt his soul and God, was so sublime, that they owned it was above their comprehension) for farther security he called at Newport, on purpose to consult his kinsman, the reverend father Duckett, son of James Duckett the martyr, and prior of the English Carthusians there, and to put himself under his direction, to the end that he might proceed more safely in the internal way, and avoid the delusions of the enemy, to which contemplatives are often exposed. Here he spent about two months in preparing himself, by spiritual exercises, for the great work of the conversion of souls.

His mission was in the bishoprick of Durham, where he had been about a year, when he was taken in the following manner: he was called from Drusame, the place of his residence, to baptize two children, upon the feast of the visitation of our blessed lady, July 2; and as he was going on his way, in the company of two catholic laymen, some parliament soldiers, who had intelligence of it, way-layed him, and apprehended him and his companions between Whissingham and Lenchester, and carried them to Sunderland, where there was sitting at that time a committee of the sequestrators. These examined him, whether he was a priest, or no? He declined giving them a positive answer, and told them, *if he were brought thither as a delinquent, he expected to see what proofs could be alledged against him; and if none were produced, he conceived, that by the course of the law he was quit.* But as they had strong suspicions of his being what he was, from the books and holy oils which were found about him, they committed him to prison; and a little while after sending for him again, still pressed him to give a direct answer, and threatened to put lighted matches betwixt his fingers, and to burn him therewith,

* From three manuscript relations sent me from Douay, "one by Mr. Duckett himself" and from the college diary.

till he would confess what he was. But let us hear Mr. Duckett's own relation of this part of his history, and of the motives upon which he at length confessed himself a priest. 'They committed me to prison, says he, making no doubt of my being a priest, by reason of my holy oils, and such like things they found about me; afterwards I was called again, and being I would not answer directly, that I was no priest, they threatened to put fired matches betwixt my fingers, till I would confess what I was. But when their threats would not prevail, they sent me to goal again, and put irons on me. About an hour after they called me again; in the mean time they were examining the other two that were taken with me; who, when I heard they would be shipped and sent away, seeing it was because I would not confess what I was, and also fearing lest some of the country should come, who knew me, whereby the most part there "i. e. the catholics of that neighbourhood" might have suffered; but especially those with whom I lived, I confessed myself to be a priest, to free them and the country.'

It seems, says another manuscript, 'this was an inspiration from heaven: for immediately no more enquiry was made after his friends, but he was sent up to London, with father Ralph Carlington "Corby" a jesuit, who was taken in those parts in his vestments, as he was going to the altar to say mass. So Mr. Duckett imitated our Saviour; *If you seek me, let these go their way.*' What follows is taken from a letter, dated September 19, 1644. 'The two confessors being brought up to London, were examined by a committee of parliament, where they both stoutly confessed themselves to be priests, as they had done before in the country, so were committed to Newgate, and brought to their trial the next sessions; where Mr. Duckett being asked by Mr. Glyn, "the recorder" if he were a priest? replied, *yes, I am.* Upon this, Mr. Recorder said to the jury, you know what follows, he confesseth himself a traitor. No, said Mr. Duckett, *I do not confess myself a traitor, though I confess myself a priest.* But this sufficed to the forward jurymen and judge; for upon this alone he was cast by the jury, and condemned by the judge,' says another manuscript relation.

Mr. Duckett adds, in his written account of himself, that when he was condemned, he told the judge, *that he rejoiced more to hear the sentence pronounced against him, than he did to pronounce it.* And both the other manuscripts, and the college diary, all agree, that whereas Mr. Duckett's natural complexion was pale, immediately upon his arraignment his countenance became in a manner angelical, and his cheeks beautifully red, and continued so till his death. Insomuch, that some who knew him before, and appointed his picture to be drawn, condemned the painter for not making it like him; but all that had seen the man in the three last days of his life, confessed the picture exactly represented him as he then appeared. See what a transformation grace can work in human creatures.

'It was also much noted, (says the letter of Sept. 19, 1644) that his chearful countenance proceeded from a heart overjoyed that he was to die in such a cause: and himself hath testified in many letters

‘ under his own hand, *that ever since he was a priest he did much fear*
 ‘ *to live, but nothing fear to die.* Insomuch that he wrote a letter to
 ‘ one of those who were taken in company with him, (if he were
 ‘ importuned) to confess, that he knew him to be a priest; *for, said*
 ‘ *the blessed man, if other witnesses fail, I shall supply all defects in*
 ‘ *that point myself, God willing; knowing what it will avail me to die*
 ‘ *for such a cause;* much like St. Ignatius the martyr, casting himself
 ‘ on the lion’s jaws, saying, *Scio quid mihi prodest, ignoscite mihi*
 ‘ *filioli.*

‘ He was a true humble man (continues my author) and contemned
 ‘ riches & the vanities of this world: the first appeared in his refusing
 ‘ many accommodations of money and apparel, offered him, not only
 ‘ by myself, but by others, even when he had never a cloak to his
 ‘ back; but rather chose to borrow one when he went to the sessions,
 ‘ &c. The other, in refusing to hear the confession of the dutchess
 ‘ of Guise, who came back from Dover on purpose to spend the last
 ‘ night of the martyr’s life with him in watching and prayer, in the
 ‘ prison. For although he pretended scruple of not having French
 ‘ enough, yet it is probable, he having been so long abroad, and
 ‘ especially coming lately from Paris, might easily have understood
 ‘ the lady, had not his humility made him refer her to others.

‘ He was much importuned to accept of a pardon of his life, by way
 ‘ of exchange for a Scotch lieutenant-colonel, in prison under the
 ‘ emperor of Germany; and when he saw the matter of grace (as the
 ‘ world termed it) far advanced, and offered unto him * by the father
 ‘ of the society, that was condemned with him, he returned the favour
 ‘ back to the father, saying, *it is a thing procured and prosecuted by*
 ‘ *your friends, be you therefore pleased to accept thereof.* But being
 ‘ persuaded by them, “father Corby and his friends,” that there was
 ‘ another way to save that father’s life, by his being an Irishman
 ‘ born, and therefore not subject to the penalty of the laws; then
 ‘ Mr. Duckett (however willing to die) thought he was bound not to
 ‘ refuse the offer of life, upon such fair terms. And this I insert here,
 ‘ to shew how little he esteemed life; for he was nothing altered, upon
 ‘ notice that the parliament (which had by their committee given hopes
 ‘ formerly of such a thing) was now resolved not to save a priest’s
 ‘ life by any such exchange. Had this happened to a soul less resigned
 ‘ than blessed Mr. Duckett’s, it would have made some alteration,
 ‘ whereas here it made none at all in this constantly chearful martyr.

‘ It was noted by all sorts of spectators that he had a continual
 ‘ smile in his looks all the way he went to execution; which smile it
 ‘ seemed was from the heart. For when the blessed man came to
 ‘ the hurdle, he was not content to be helped up, but of himself leaped
 ‘ into the straw, and composed himself upon it, as if he had been
 ‘ riding in triumph. Before he went out of prison to the hurdle,
 ‘ seeing many weeping about him, he smiling said, *Why weep you for*

* Mr. Corby, when it was proposed to him, referred it to me, and I again to him; thus to and fro it went, till, &c. Mr. Duckett’s MSS.

‘ me, who am glad at heart of this happy day? And added, *Hæc dies,*
 ‘ *quam fecit dominus, exultemus, & lætemur in eâ.* And some of the
 ‘ jailors observing his smiling farewell from the prison, said, assuredly
 ‘ this man dies for a good cause, since he and all of his profession
 ‘ go cheerfully to the gallows, whereas those of our religion go weep-
 ‘ ing and wringing their hands.

‘ He gave his benediction to all that asked it on the way, with his
 ‘ head raised from the hurdle, and a smiling look. This was testified
 ‘ unto me by many, but especially by *don Antonia de Sousa*, resident for
 ‘ the king of Portugal, who attended the martyrs unto the place of
 ‘ execution, and twice upon the way spoke to them, and asked their
 ‘ benedictions, and affirmed with what alacrity Mr. Duckett gave it
 ‘ him.

‘ At the gallows he said little, only he told the minister that went
 ‘ about to pervert him, *sir, I come not hither to be taught my faith, but*
 ‘ *to die for the profession of it.* It seems there was a fear lest Mr.
 ‘ Duckett would have spoken much, out of the abundant joy that
 ‘ appeared in him; so to prevent that, he was in a manner throatled
 ‘ alive (by an ill-favoured hampering of the rope about his neck,
 ‘ which the hangman used to none but to him) and he was observed
 ‘ to stand a long time in prayer upon the cart, before it was drawn
 ‘ away, half hanged indeed. When the hangman came to cast the
 ‘ rope about his neck, Mr. Duckett took it into his own hands, and
 ‘ smiling, kissed it for joy that he was thereby so near *the end of his*
 ‘ *time and the beginning of eternity*; for he did many times express the
 ‘ sense he had of eternity, and his longing after it, which made him
 ‘ glad at the shortness of his time upon so happy an occasion.

‘ One thing was singular in these blessed martyrs, more than in all
 ‘ that went before them in England of latter days, that they both
 ‘ appeared in their own weeds in this last scene of their lives; going
 ‘ with hair cut, shaved crowns, and in their cassocks, from the pri-
 ‘ son to the place of execution, which if they had asked leave to do,
 ‘ perhaps had been denied them, as it was to some who had asked
 ‘ leave before, and were denied. “As to this whole relation” I can
 ‘ assure you, I have many of these particulars under Mr. Duckett’s
 ‘ own hand writing, and all the rest from persons of good credit, both
 ‘ ear and eye-witnesses thereof.’ So far the letter.

Whilst he was in Newgate he reconciled one of the felons, who
 afterwards died with him.—Mr. Duckett suffered at Tyburn, Sept. 7,
 1644, in the 31st year of his age, the fifth of his priesthood, and
 the second of his mission.

179. * *Ralph Corby alias Carlington, Priest, S. J.*

RALPH Corby, who was known upon the mission by the name of
 Carlington, was born near Dublin in Ireland, of English parents,
 natives of the bishoprick of Durham, and zealous converts, who went

* From his life printed at Antwerp in 1645.

over into Ireland for the freer exercise of their religion. Here our confessor was brought into this world, on lady-day in March 1598, and when he was five years old accompanied his parents in their return to England, with whom he lived partly in Lancashire, and partly in the bishoprick (for the persecutors suffered them not to continue long in the same place) till the age of 15, being all the while remarkably dutiful and obedient to his parents, modest and reserved in his words, peaceful and meek in his temper, wonderfully sincere and exact in his speech, despising money, and when any was given him, giving it away to a younger brother, and above all very devout at his prayers, and a great lover of the blessed virgin, whose little office he used to recite upon all Sundays and holidays: all which virtues were, under God, due to his pious education; his parents being very virtuous themselves, and taking care to bring up their children such. Inso-much that both parents and children all entered into religion; the father and his three sons in the society of Jesus, the mother and her two daughters in the holy order of St. Bennet.

Young Mr. Ralph at fifteen years of age was admitted into the English college of St. Omer's, where he spent six years in the study of humanity, and then was sent into Spain; where he employed five years more in the study of philosophy and divinity; one year at Seville, where his health permitted him not to remain any longer, and four at Valladolid, where he was made priest. He then returned into Flanders, made his noviceship in the society of Jesus at Watten, finished his divinity at Liege, and after two years spent at Ghent, was sent upon the English mission in 1632. His missionary labours were employed amongst the poorer sort of catholics in the bishoprick of Durham, where he travelled much, winter and summer, day and night, and generally on foot; to instruct, comfort, and administer the sacraments to a persecuted people, scattered here and there in the villages of that country; and this for the space of 12 years, suffering very much all the while from a bad state of health, and meeting with very indifferent accommodations, both as to lodging and diet, from his country hosts; whose hearts nevertheless he had gained in such manner by his virtue and charity, that they loved him as their father, and revered him as an apostle.

He had long aspired after the happiness of dying for Christ, and now the time came on when his desire was to be accomplished. It was on the 8th of July 1644, when going to mass at a country house in Hampsterly, not far from Newcastle, he was apprehended by the parliament soldiers, rushing into the house, and scarce giving him time to put off his vestments, and was hurried away to Sunderland, where a committee of the sequestrators was then sitting. To these men he readily confessed himself to be a priest; and being required to sign a paper in which his confession was set down in writing, he obeyed, and without more ado was put on shipboard to be carried to London. Here to his great comfort he found the reverend Mr. John Duckett, a prisoner for the same cause, and now designed to be his companion in the same voyage, as he afterwards was both in prison and in death. And here these two servants of God contracted

a holy friendship, which death itself could not dissolve, and being founded in God, will unite them in God to all eternity.

As soon as these two confessors of Christ were arrived at London, they were carried before a committee of the parliament at Westminster, where their confession, which they had signed before, of their being priests, was produced, and acknowledged by them for their own act and deed. Upon which they were ordered to Newgate, and conducted thither through the streets lined with the mob, by a whole company of soldiers, with their captain at their head, beating their drums, and shooting off their muskets from time to time, as if they had taken in war the generals of their enemies, and like the old Romans were carrying them in triumph. In Newgate the servants of God remained close prisoners till the next sessions, that is, till the month of September. And as the violent disposition of the parliament at that time with regard to priests made them look for nothing else but the sentence of death, so they took care to prepare for it by giving themselves up to prayer and other religious exercises; seeming at the same time by a pious emulation, to vie with one another, which should excel in humility, charity, patience, zeal for the divine glory, and other heroical virtues; yet so as to maintain a wonderful harmony of will, and mutual concord in all things, to the great edification of all that came near them.

But what was particularly remarkable in these two confessors, was, their pious strife upon the occasion lately mentioned in our account of Mr. Duckett; when some hopes being given, that the life of one of them might be saved, by way of exchange for a Scottish officer (a lieutenant-colonel) at that time the emperor's prisoner; the imperial resident made the offer first to F. Corby, and he, after many thanks to his excellency, modestly declined it, and desired it might be conferred on Mr. Duckett, who, he said, was young and healthful, and in all other respects well qualified to do good service upon the mission; whereas for himself he was grown infirm, and if his life was spared could do little service. On the other hand Mr. Duckett, when the offer was made to him, returning thanks both to the resident and F. Corby, equally declined the favour, and professed it would be better placed on F. Corby, a person of known experience, zeal and piety, and far better qualified to serve the mission than himself. And thus to the great edification of the resident, who came in person to Newgate on this occasion, the offer he made was handed to and fro between them, neither being willing to accept of it, till an expedient was proposed to save them both; but it succeeded not, for the parliament, it seems, was resolved they both should suffer.

They were both therefore brought to the bar upon the 4th of September, at the Old Bailey, where their trials were soon over, both having confessed before under their own hands, that they were priests. 'Tis true, Mr. Corby alledged that he was a native of Ireland, and therefore out of the case of the statute: but the recorder told him he was mistaken, and ordered the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth to be read, by which it is made high-treason for any man born within the queen's dominions, of which Ireland is a part, to remain in England

after being made priest, &c. The jury therefore, as directed, brought them both in *guilty*, and the following day they both received sentence of death according to the usual form ; and returned with joy to the prison, there to *wait for that blessed and happy Saturday*, as F. Corby expresses it in his letter written to his superior the day that he was condemned, *which is the vigil of her glorious nativity* (the 7th of September) *by whose holy intercession, I hope, says he, to be born again to a new and everlasting life.*

At their return to Newgate they were thrust down into the condemned hole amongst the felons, by one of the turnkeys, who also began to strip them, and load them with irons ; till the master-keeper, who was more humane (though not without some consideration of money to be paid by them) allowed them a better lodging. The last day of their mortal life, and the whole ensuing night, they devoted to prayer, fasting, watching (so as not so much as once to close their eyes) and spiritual conferences with those who came to visit them, as many did, both English and foreigners ; and amongst the latter most of the ministers of catholic princes and states then residing in London, as also the dutchess of Guise, who passed the whole night in watching and prayer with them ; and having made her confession to F. Corby, received the blessed sacrament at his hands, and purchased the chalice in which he said his last mass, which she afterwards kept as a precious relic. The French envoy also made his confession to the father, and received from him a pair of beads and a blessed medal, to be sent to the queen-mother of France, and professed after his departure, how much he had been edified by the sight and conversation of both these champions of Christ, and that he had never seen their equals for christian fortitude. Many others also there were that confessed to them, and received at their hands in their last masses, to the great comfort of their souls.

It was observed that F. Corby, who from the time of his condemnation till then, had been full of joy at the approach of his happy dissolution, whilst he was saying his last mass, like his Saviour in the garden, appeared to be as it were in an agony of sadness and fear, which discovered itself in his gestures, and in his voice, to the surprise of the standers-by, who afterwards inquiring of him the meaning of it, learnt from his own mouth that certain melancholy thoughts at that time pressed in upon him, which over clouded his soul, till by earnest prayer to God they were dispelled, and tranquillity and joy succeeded in their place ; and so from that time till his happy death, he continued chearful and joyful ; and told his friends, who wept at their last parting with him, when he was going out in order for execution, that they had no reason to weep, but rather, if they loved him, ought to rejoice and congratulate with him, who was going to meet so great a happiness.

And now the 7th of September was come, when these two soldiers of Christ were to fight their last battle ; when about ten o'clock in the morning they were called down to the hurdle, they went forth with their crowns shaved, the one in the religious habit of the society of Jesus, and the other in his clergyman's cassock ; and being pinion-

ed down according to custom, they were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn. Many catholics asked and received their blessing in the way; and even the protestants who saw them could not help admiring their courage and constancy. When they were arrived at the place of execution, they kissed the gallows, and giving God thanks, got into the cart, where there stood five malefactors, who were to be executed with them. Mr. Duckett for his part made no speech, but stood silent, with his eyes lifted up towards heaven. F. Corby contented himself with a short discourse, in which he gave an account of the cause for which he and his companion were to die, viz. merely for being catholic priests; nothing else being alledged against either of them. The sheriff told him, they had seduced many, and were to die because having been made priests beyond the seas, they had returned into England, and seduced the king's subjects, in contempt of the laws of God and the kingdom. *Pardon me, Mr. Sheriff,* said F. Corby, *there is no contempt of the laws of God in the case; and if our desiring the salvation of our neighbours, if our receiving for this purpose the holy order of priesthood, instituted by Christ, if our bringing back to Christ's fold the sheep that were gone astray, be against the laws of the kingdom, and punishable by death; I would have the whole world understand, that in such a cause we are not afraid of death, but earnestly desire it, and embrace it with open arms. Yes, Mr. Sheriff, we most willingly render this day to our Saviour, who most willingly died for us all, this life of ours, due a thousand times over to his merits and death: and we shall joyfully die for the love of him, and for the cause of our religion.* This was the sum of his words, says my author, diligently noted by a catholic that stood near; nor was there opportunity for his speaking much more to the people: but the confessor was not wanting in exhorting and animating one of the five, who were to suffer with him, Hauard by name, condemned, though, as 'tis thought, wrongfully, for coining, who had been lately reconciled in prison, and made a public profession of his faith at the gallows, regretting very much that he had known it so late: and declaring aloud, that there was no other way to eternal salvation.

And now the two confessors most lovingly embraced each other, and took their leave for a moment to meet for ever in a happy eternity. The sheriff would not permit them to be cut down, till he was assured they were quite dead. But then on the other hand, he shewed his zeal against popery by ordering all things to be burnt, even to the very apron and sleeves of the hangman, that had been sprinkled with any of their blood, that the papist dogs, as he said, might have nothing to keep for relicks. Yet some there were, who, notwithstanding all this diligence of the sheriff, found means to procure some pieces of Mr. Duckett's cassock, one of his hands, and the whole cassock of F. Corby.—He suffered September 7, 1644, *ætatis anno 46, societatis 20.*

1645.—Five months did not fully pass from the execution of Mr. Duckett and Mr. Corby, when another gentleman of the same character suffered at the same place, for the same cause, viz.

180 . * *Henry Morse, Priest, S. J.*

HENRY Morse, sometime known upon the mission by the name of Cuthbert Claxton, was born in Suffolk, of a gentleman's family, anno 1595. His parents were protestants, who brought him up in their own religion, in which he continued till the 23d year of his age; when being a student of the laws, in one of the inns of court in London, he began to examine more seriously the grounds of the catholic faith, and after some time retired into Flanders, and was there received into the church at Douay. This happened about the beginning of the year 1618, (for this was the 23d year of Mr. Morse's age) and I find in the Douay diary,† that he was admitted convictor in the English college, in the month of August of that same year, having already suffered imprisonment for his religion, upon his return into England, after his reconciliation. At Douay he remained till September 15, 1620, when he left the college, being then in logick, in order to go into England; but not long after he travelled to Rome, where he was received in the English seminary of that city, and having finished his studies, was promoted to holy orders, and sent upon the English mission.

He landed at Newcastle, and was no sooner got to shore, but immediately was carried before a magistrate, upon suspicion of his being a priest, and committed to prison, where he was detained three years in great sufferings, under a very bad state of health, besides the other incommodities of the place; all which he endured with a most edifying patience. This prison was, it seems, to serve for his noviceship; for he had obtained of the general of the jesuits, at his departure from Rome, that after his arrival in England he should be admitted into their society; and conveniently for that purpose, another priest of the society was, about the same time, cast into the same prison, who might assist him in quality of master novices. After three years close confinement here, amongst felons and malefactors, several of whom he had the comfort to reconcile to God and his church, he was transported into perpetual banishment; and upon that occasion went to Watten, where he recruited his health, which was much impaired in prison, and spent some time amongst the novices, in such manner as to give them great edification. From thence he was sent to make a mission amongst the English soldiers, at that time in the service of the king of Spain, who were quartered in the neighbouring cities, of which charitable employ he acquitted himself with great zeal and success, till he contracted a malignant fever, which had like to have bereaved him of his life; but God preserved him for greater things. After his recovery, he spent some time at Watten and Liege, in quality of minister of those communities; and then his zeal of souls prompted him to desire to be sent back upon the English mission.

* From his life published at Antwerp the same year that he suffered. From the Douay diary, &c.

† Anno 1618, mense augusto, e carcere ad nos reversus est Henricus Morse, et ad communem mensam est admissus. Anno 1620, 15 Sept. Henricus Morse logicus in angliam sese e collegio recepit. Douay diary.

To England therefore he was sent, and quickly found an opportunity of labouring with great fruit, during the plague, which raged in London in 1636 and 1637. It is scarce credible, what pains he took on this occasion, in visiting, assisting, comforting, and relieving such as were infected, as well protestants as catholics; having to this end provided himself with a list of about 400 families, where the infection had taken, which he allotted to his own particular charge, and punctually visited in their turns; and great was the blessing God was pleased to give to his labours, not only in respect to the souls of the poor catholics, whom he assisted with the sacraments, but also in the conversion of many protestants. During the course of this plague, father Morse was himself thrice seized with the infection; and when at the third time he looked for nothing but death, he recovered again upon the receiving a letter from his superior, commanding him to desist for the future from attending the infected.

Not long after this, he was apprehended by a special warrant from the lords of the council, and committed to Newgate; and at the next sessions brought upon his trial, accused of being a priest, and of having seduced his majesty's subjects from the religion by law established. Mr. Prynne, in his *Popish Royal Favourite*, page 29. informs us, that there was exhibited, and read in open court, a certificate, shewing that he had perverted, as they termed it, 560 protestants in and about the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. But this part of the accusation, it seems, could not be legally proved; of the other point, viz. of his being a priest, he was found *guilty* by his jury; yet upon the mediation of the queen, he did not receive sentence of death; but, after some time, was bailed out, and at length sent into banishment, by the king's proclamation, in the beginning of 1641.

In the time of this banishment he was not idle, but made another mission amongst the English soldiers of colonel Gage's regiment, with such diligence and zeal, that he deservedly gained the esteem of that great officer, insomuch that he usually called him the holy father. But his ardour for the greater glory of God prompted him continually to desire to return into England, where he might have a larger field to work in, not without a prospect of receiving the crown of martyrdom for the reward of his labours; nor did he desist importuning his superiors, till they gave their consent to his return. He was at Ghent when he received this welcome news in 1643, which he immediately imparted with great joy to his brethren there, going from room to room to them; and, as he made no doubt but that he was going to die for his faith, promising that he would hereafter be mindful of them. He sailed for the northern parts of England, and landed safely there, and for about a year and a half diligently laboured amongst the catholics of those provinces in those turbulent times; till going to a house on the borders of Cumberland to assist a sick person, he was apprehended upon suspicion, by some soldiers that were making search there after another person, and was sent under a guard towards Durham. In the way thither he was to lodge one night at a constable's house, whose wife was a catholic, who managed matters so as to give him an opportunity of making his escape for that time. But about six weeks

after, it plainly appeared, that it was God's will he should glorify his divine name by suffering for him; when he, travelling in that county with a guide perfectly well acquainted with all the ways thereabouts, and being within a mile or two of the house to which he was going, his guide all on a sudden was puzzled, and knew not which way to turn, as if his memory had been quite gone from him; upon this they went up to the next cottage, to inquire their way; and behold, at the very door they meet a man, who looking father Morse in the face, asked, if he was not the person who had lately escaped from the soldiers who were carrying him to Durham? this unexpected rencounter surprized the father, who not being able to deny the truth, was apprehended, and hurried away to Durham goal, where he was close confined in a filthy lodging for several weeks and then carried to Newcastle, to be shipped off for London.

At sea he suffered much from the barbarous usage of the rascally ship-crew, and withal, had like to have been cast away in a violent storm, in which another ship was lost before his eyes; but God reserved him for a more glorious death. Being arrived at London, he was committed to Newgate, January the 24th; and notwithstanding his brother, who was an eminent lawyer, and a protestant, left no stone unturned to save his life, he was brought to the bar on the 30th of the same month; and being found to be the man who had been brought in guilty of priest-hood some years before, he was, without further trial, sentenced to die as in cases of high treason, and sent back to Newgate; where, for the short remainder of his mortal life, great numbers of all sorts of people flocked to him, and were much edified by his saintly comportment and conversation.

On the first of February, the day of his execution, he celebrated early in the morning, a votive mass of the blessed trinity, in thanksgiving for the great favour God was pleased to do him, in calling him to the crown of martyrdom, having first, according to custom, recited the litanies of our blessed lady, and of all the saints, for the conversion of England. After which he made an exhortation to the catholics that were present, and having reposed himself for about an hour, and performed the canonical hours of the divine office, he went to the rooms of all his fellow prisoners, and took his leave of them with that chearfulness in his looks, as astonished them all. The little time that remained, he employed in private, with another religious man of his order, in most fervent acts of faith, hope, divine love, contrition, &c. till being admonished that his time was come, he cast himself upon his knees, and with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, gave hearty thanks to the Almighty, extolled his infinite mercy towards him, and offered himself, without any reserve, as a sacrifice to his divine Majesty. 'Come, my sweetest Jesu, said he, that I may now be inseparably united to thee in time and in eternity! welcome ropes, hurdles, gibbets, knives, and butchery! welcome for the love of Jesus my Saviour.'

At nine in the morning the sheriff came to the prison, and calling for father Morse, handed him down very courteously to the sledge, on which he was drawn by four horses to Tyburn. The French embassa-

dor met him in the way in his coach, and in the sight of the whole multitude saluted him, and craved his benediction; and afterwards attended him at the place of execution, with all his retinue, begging his prayers for the common peace of christendom, and for the king and kingdom of France. The count D'Egmont was also present in his coach, to take his last leave of the confessor; who, getting up into the cart under the gallows, and being permitted by the sheriff to speak to the people, addressed himself to them in these, or the like words, which he delivered with a loud voice.

‘ I am come hither to die for my religion, for that religion which is professed by the catholic Roman church, founded by Christ, established by the apostles, propagated through all ages by an hierarchy always visible to this day, grounded on the testimonies of holy scriptures; upheld by the authority of fathers and councils, out of which, in fine, there can be no hopes of salvation.’ Here the sheriff interrupted him, and bid him desist from that subject, and rather tell, if he knew of any plots against the king or parliament. So Mr. Morse went on: ‘ The time was,’ said he, ‘ when I was a protestant, being then a student of the laws, in the inns of court in town; till being suspicious of the truth of my religion, I went abroad into Flanders, and upon full conviction renounced my former errors, and was reconciled to the church of Rome, the mistress of all churches. Upon my return into England, I was committed to prison for refusing the oath of pretended allegiance; and from prison, though I was then no priest, I was sent into banishment. I went to Rome, and after I had gone through the course of my studies for seven years, I returned into England, to help the souls of my neighbours; and here, amongst other charities, I devoted myself to the service of the poor catholics and others, in the time of the late plague, and suffered nothing to be wanting that lay in me, to their spiritual comfort.’

You ought not to glory of your good works, said the sheriff, and the protestant minister that stood by him; ‘ I will glory in nothing,’ replied the father, ‘ but in my infirmities; but all glory I ascribe to God, who was pleased to make use of so weak an instrument in so pious a ministry; and who is pleased now to favour me so far, as to allow me this day to seal the catholic faith with my blood; a favour which I have begged of him for these thirty years: and I pray that my death may be some kind of atonement for the sins of this nation; and if I had as many lives as there are sands in the sea, I would most willingly lay them all down for this end, and in testimony of the catholic faith, which faith is the only true, the only certain faith, the only faith confirmed by miracles still continuing; in which to this day the blind see, the dumb speak, the dead are raised to life. *For thy testimonies, O Lord, are made credible exceedingly.*

‘ But as, Mr. Sheriff, you were pleased to ask, if I knew of any plots against the king or parliament, I here declare sincerely, in the presence of God, I never in my life had knowledge of any such plot or conspiracy, much less was I myself ever engaged in any. And I hold for certain, that the present tumults, and all the calamities under which the nation groans, are to be ascribed to nothing else but heresy,

‘and this spawn of so many sects; and that it will be in vain to look for tranquillity and happiness, or any lasting remedy for these evils, as long as this mortal poison remains in the very bowels of the nation.’

Here the sheriff would not suffer him to proceed, but bid him say his prayers, and prepare himself for death. ‘I will do as you bid me,’ said father Morse, ‘and will prepare myself, as well as I can, for my departure hence, which is indeed the thing I have been doing for these thirty years, ever since I was a catholic.’ Then recollecting himself for a while, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed with a loud voice to the blessed trinity, acknowledging himself a great sinner, humbly begging mercy and pardon for all his offences, and forgiving his enemies and persecutors, as he hoped for forgiveness from God. He also prayed for all christian kingdoms, and most particularly for England; and in conclusion, recommended his departing soul to God, in those words of his dying Saviour, *into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*; and so the cart was drawn away, and he quietly expired. His quarters were set up on four of the gates of the city, and his head on London bridge. He suffered February 1, 1644-5, *ætatis* 50.

181. *Brian Cansfield, Priest, S. J. Confessor.*

HE was commonly known by the name of Christopher Barton, was a zealous and laborious missionary, and a man of great mortification. He was apprehended at the altar, saying mass, hurried away in his vestments to the next justice of peace; and after divers injuries and affronts, which like his master he suffered with invincible patience, was cast into a filthy prison, where the stench, and other incommodities of the place, put an end to his mortal life in some part of this year 1645. See *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*, p. 72.

182. *George Muscot, alias Fisher, Priest and Confessor.*

THIS worthy gentleman, whose memory will be always dear to the English college of Douay, and whose pastoral zeal and great sufferings in the cause of religion will ever challenge an esteem and veneration from all that have the interest of religion at heart, justly claims a place in these collections, though he neither suffered at the place of execution, nor died in prison. For if he was not actually executed, he came as near it as ever man did; and if labouring for the salvation of souls, in spite of threatening dangers, be deserving the gallows, never man better deserved it.

The summary of his life and sufferings is contained in his epitaph, engraved on the marble under which he lies interred in the chapel of our blessed lady, in the parish church of St. James in Douay, and is as follows:

Post plurimos in Anglia pro fide catholica exantlatos labores cum ingenti animarum lucro, hic quiescit reverendus admodum dominus Georgius Muscottus, sacerdos Anglicus; qui post carceris squalores viginti amplius annis toleratos, post damnationem pro fide ad patibulum, ad ignem, ad membrorum discriptionem, ferali crate ad portam carceris egressu-

rum præstolante, et populo ad spectaculum currente; vita interim ad preces reginæ Angliæ a rege ampliata, ad præsidentiam collegii Anglo-Duaceni a summo pontifice evectus est; quod adeo præclare administravit, ut disciplina reflorescente, rem familiarem quadrienij spatio, etiam calamitosis temporibus, ultra viginti millia florenorum adauxerit; et tandem meritis ipsemet auctus, ærumnis et morbis attenuatus, corpus gracile terræ, animam divitem cœlo, odorem optimum boni exempli omnibus sacerdotibus reliquit. Obiit anno ætatis 65, sacerdotij 40, præsidentiae 5, die 24 Decembris, anno 1645, in ipsa vigilia nativitatis Domini: qua die ipse olim in fœdissimum lacum inter latrones detrusus, inibique per triduum detentus suavissimos reportavit fructus; nam ex decem facinorosis, qui morte mulctabantur, novem ad fidem catholicam reconciliati sunt.—Requiescat in pace.

Englished thus:—After a great many labours undergone in England for the catholic faith, with very great profit of souls, here repositeth the very Reverend Mr. George Muscot, an English priest, who after having suffered the incommodities of a prison for above twenty years, after having been condemned for the faith to the gibbet, to the fire, to the dismembering and quartering of his body, the fatal hurdle waiting at the gate of the prison for his coming out, and the people running to the sight, was in the mean time, at the intercession of the queen of England, reprieved by the king, and advanced by the pope to the presidentship of the English college of Douay, which he governed in such manner as both to give a new life to the discipline of the house, and in four years to improve, even in the hardest times, its temporal estate by the addition of above 20,000 florens; and at length he himself being improved by merits, reduced by sufferings and infirmities, bequeathed his emaciated body to the earth, his rich soul to heaven, and the excellent odour of a good example to all priests. He deceased in the 65 year of his age, the 40th of his priesthood, the 5th of his presidentship, on the 24th of December 1645, on the very vigil of the nativity of our Lord, on which day he having heretofore been thrust down into a most filthy dungeon amongst felons and kept therein for three days, had produced most sweet fruits: for out of ten malefactors who were condemned to die, nine were reconciled to the catholic faith.—May he rest in peace.

183. * *Philip Powel, alias Morgan, Priest, O. S. B.—*
1646.

PHILIP Powel, commonly known upon the mission by the name of Morgan, was the son of Roger Powel and Catharine Morgan, both of very ancient families, and virtuous, though not rich. He was born in the parish of Tralon in Brecknockshire, on Candlemas-day, 1594, and brought up in grammar learning in the common school of Abergavenny, where he was noted for being always very towardsly, though amongst many rude companions. At the age of sixteen he was sent to London to study the law under F. Augustin Baker, 'who before he was a monk, 'was a famous lawyer in the Temple, with whom he continued till he

* From three manuscripts preserved by the English benedictins at Douay.

‘ was near twenty years old; at which time being sent by him on some
 ‘ temporal affairs into Flanders, coming to Douay, he was enflamed with a
 ‘ great desire of being a monk amongst the English Benedictins of St.
 ‘ Gregory’s in that town. His spirit being tried, he was admitted to the
 ‘ habit in 1614; and after having made a good progress in virtue and learn-
 ‘ ing (having for master that learned divine F. Leander of St. Martin) at
 ‘ the age of twenty-four he was made priest; “ in 1618” and in 1622,
 ‘ on the 7th of March was sent on the mission.

‘ At his first entrance into England, he repaired to his former master
 ‘ F. Baker, with whom he lived sixteen months; and who was ravished
 ‘ at the exchange the young man had made, and was much more ready
 ‘ now to teach him in the divine law, than ever he had been formerly to
 ‘ instruct him in the civil. After this trial finding him every way qua-
 ‘ lified, he sent him to a good family (Mr. Risen’s in Devonshire)
 ‘ where in a short time he gained the affection of all, insomuch that
 ‘ when Risen’s daughter was married to Mr P. of L. in Somersetshire,
 ‘ there was a pious strife between the father and the daughter, who
 ‘ should have Mr. Powel: but the daughter prevailed, and with this
 ‘ couple he had a constant residence at L. for 21 or 22 years, behaving to
 ‘ the great edification of all; till the late wars forced that family from
 ‘ home, and obliged them to disperse themselves in different places.
 ‘ Whereupon Mr. Powel repaired to his old friend John Tre—in the
 ‘ parish of Yearcome in the county of Devon, and to John Coff—in
 ‘ the parish of Parcombe. Here he had not been above three or four
 ‘ months, before these parts were over-run with parliament soldiers; so
 ‘ that no catholic could find any place of safety, but in Goring’s army;
 ‘ whither our paster followed his flock, and there took exceeding great
 ‘ pains in his functions for the space of six months, till that army being
 ‘ dissolved, he took ship in a small vessel that was bound from Corn-
 ‘ wal to Wales; and as he was sailing, on the feast of St. Peter’s chair,
 ‘ (Feb. 22) his vessel was boarded by capt. Crowder, vice-admiral of
 ‘ those seas; where two of the admiral’s men knew him, and accused
 ‘ him of being a priest, saying, that they had lately been acquainted
 ‘ with him in the parishes of Yearcombe and Parcombe, where, said
 ‘ they, he seduced the greater part of the parishes from their churches.’

Upon this the admiral told him he certainly was a priest, which at
 first he would neither confess nor deny: but afterwards recommending
 the matter to God, and to the prayers of the blessed virgin, his angel-
 guardian, and St. Benedict, begging to be inspired how to behave, and
 what answer to give on this occasion, he found himself suddenly deter-
 mined to acknowlege his priestly character: so that being asked again
 that same morning by captain Crowder, if he was not a priest? he
 chearfully owned himself to be one; all which particulars he told a be-
 nedictin monk, who was his confessarius whilst he was prisoner in the
 King’s-bench.

‘ He was therefore committed prisoner under deck, where the soldiers
 ‘ barbarously stript him of all his cloaths to his very shirt and cloathed
 ‘ him with most beggarly rags; and in this condition he was detained
 ‘ prisoner from the 22d of February to the 11th of May following, be-
 ‘ ing Monday, when by orders of the earl of Warwick, admiral for the

‘ parliament, he was sent up to London, and delivered to the custody of
 ‘ St. Catharine’s jail in Southwark. Upon the Wednesday following
 ‘ he was examined by judge Roules, if he was a priest? he acknow-
 ‘ ledged he was; and by him he was commanded to the King’s-Bench,
 ‘ with recommendation to be civilly used, as indeed he was at his first
 ‘ entrance; so he ingratiated himself much with divers gentlemen who
 ‘ were there prisoners for debt. On the Saturday following he was
 ‘ called before the two judges Bacon and Roules, by whom he was ex-
 ‘ mined of all his whole life; of which he gave them account as follows,
 ‘ to my best remembrance, for I heard it thrice read at the King’s-
 ‘ Bench bar.

‘ I was born in Brecknockshire, was educated at the school of Aber-
 ‘ gavenny, and at 16 years of age was sent by my parents to London,
 ‘ to apply myself to the law, where I remained betwixt three and four
 ‘ years; then I went to Douay, to the monastery of St. Gregory, of
 ‘ the order of St. Benedict, and amongst them I received the habit of
 ‘ St. Benedict, when I was about twenty years of age. There I stu-
 ‘ died, and when I was at the age of twenty-four, I took holy orders,
 ‘ and was made a Roman catholic priest; and at the age of twenty-
 ‘ eight, I was sent into my country, by my superiors, to convert and as-
 ‘ sist poor erring souls; where I have remained about twenty years in
 ‘ Cornwall, Devon, and Somersetshire, saying mass, hearing confes-
 ‘ sions, administering the sacraments, and using all sort of functions of
 ‘ a priest.

‘ To this confession he set his hand, and so was returned back to
 ‘ his lodging in the King’s-Bench, where his best accommodation was
 ‘ upon matts without bed, bolster, or sheets, and in a chamber with
 ‘ five more, a catholic his bedfellow, and some of the rest being sick
 ‘ persons. Here some few friends now came to visit him; and two amongst
 ‘ others, who often importuned him to recal his former confession, and
 ‘ to pretend he was distracted when he wrote it, through the hard usage
 ‘ he had met with at sea.—But the holy man would not hear of any such
 ‘ advice.

‘ On Friday the 29th of May, he was cast into the common gaol,
 ‘ being the next day to be judged upon his confession: here the miseries
 ‘ of his lodging far exceeded the former, insomuch that it cast him into
 ‘ a most dangerous pleurisy. As soon as he began to get a little strength,
 ‘ he was carried to the King’s-Bench bar in Westminster-hall, on Tues-
 ‘ day the 9th of June; and his indictment, drawn up from his own
 ‘ confession, being read, the clerk demanded of him, art thou guilty,
 ‘ or not guilty? The holy man answered, with a great deal of meekness
 ‘ and courage, that I am a priest, I freely did confess, and now acknow-
 ‘ ledge again; but guilty of any treason or crime against the state I am
 ‘ not. The judge then said, Mr. Morgan, you are to answer directly
 ‘ to the demand, are you guilty, or not guilty? He replied, I have ac-
 ‘ knowledged myself a priest and a monk, but I am not guilty.—The
 ‘ judge demanded by whom he would be tried? by God and by his
 ‘ country? He answered, if I must needs be tried, I will permit my-
 ‘ self to be tried by the country. So he was conducted back to prison.

‘ On Friday the 12th of June, he was again carried to the King’s-

‘ Bench bar. His indictment being again read, and the jury present, the judge asked him (Mr. Morgan) what can you say for yourself? He modestly replied, that the proceeding against him ought to be deferred: for first, said he, I doubt whether you, my lord, have any just power derived from his majesty to try me, or no. Secondly, his majesty’s flag flying in a civil war, all trials of life and death cease. He was permitted to say no more, but conveyed by two tipstiffs to a bye seat, whilst the jury sat upon him, and then was called again to the bar, to hear their verdict, who brought him in *guilty*: so he was sent back to the King’s-bench prison.

‘ Tuesday the 16th of June, he was called again to the bar: he desired the favour to speak, which being granted, he pleaded that Henry VIII. made a statute of qualification of all statutes; and that the reason of queen Elizabeth’s statute against priests, was her fears and jealousies of the queen of Scots, and the Spaniards; and that it was conceived at that time, that all the priests in England had a relation to them both; but that now the case was altered; that the king’s person was absent, and no plot could be executed by him upon it; so that both the person and the cause being taken away, this latter statute might receive the benefit of mitigation, which point was long argued by him and the judge, in presence of many lawyers, for it was term-time.— He added, that according to the letter of queen Elizabeth’s statute, he was not guilty, not being taken in England, but on the sea. But all would not do. So judgment was pronounced by judge Bacon; upon which the holy man, with a chearful countenance and pleasant voice, lifting up his hands and eyes towards heaven, said, *Deo Gratias*, thanks be to God, adding, I have not here room, by reason of the throng, to give God thanks on my knees; but I most humbly thank him on the knee of my heart. Then he made an offering of himself, in a loud voice, to his Saviour Jesus Christ, praying, that the shedding of his innocent blood might not increase God’s wrath upon this kingdom, but rather be a means to appease it. Then he prayed for the king, queen, and their posterity; for the judge, jury, and all who were any way guilty of his death. The judge said, you do us wrong; you have received judgment, and cannot plead your innocent blood. The blessed man replied, my Lord, I have said; I will not offend. The judge bid him make choice of what day he would die. He answered, with a pleasant and modest aspect, as always, my lord, consider, it is not an easy matter, or a thing soon compassed, to be provided to die well. We have all of us much to answer for, and myself have not the least share; therefore, my lord, consider what time your lordship would allot to yourself, and appoint that to me. Yet the judge made him the same proffer a second and a third time; to which he lastly replied, he would by no means be an allotter of his own death, or be any way guilty of it; but would leave it to his lordship’s discretion. So being promised he should have a competent notice, he was sent back to his lodgings in the prison.

‘ It was admirable to see how pleasant, how affable and liberal he was towards all: in a word, his comportment was such, that his fellow-prisoners, of their own accord, drew up a certificate of his inno-

cent and virtuous behaviour, signed by twenty-nine gentlemen, all protestants, excepting six, whom he had reconciled in prison, (viz. captain Bromfield, Mr. Martin, Mr. Dutton, Mr. Hierome, Mr. Richabie, &c.) This gentleman last named had a most wicked custom of swearing: the blessed man once hearing him swear, whilst he was drinking amongst his companions (after his reconciliation) goes to him, calls him out, pays his shot, and so severely reprehends him, that to this day the man was never heard to swear an oath, as his fellow-prisoners can testify.

In the common side of the prison, where he was now lodged, the holy man was placed in a little low earthen ward, in which there were eleven lodgings; and bore with patience all the nastiness and miseries of the place. His office, it seems, was to sweep the ward, which he did with great delight. One whom he had reconciled, desiring to do that office for him, he refused the courtesy, and gave God thanks, that he had this opportunity of serving the poor and prisoners.

It was also very observable in this blessed man, that he daily increased in pleasantness and cheerfulness, as he grew nearer and nearer to heaven, even to his last hour, as many can witness, (says my author) and myself can, being with him daily. On the 28th of June, being Sunday, near eight in the evening, an officer came from the judges, to advertize him, that Tuesday morning next following was appointed for his death; beginning first with an apology, how unhappy he was to be the messenger of such sad tidings; at which the holy man, imagining what it was, joyfully said, *welcome, whatever comes: God's name be praised!* The manner and cordiality of his speech so daunted the officer, that he could not read his charge, but the blessed man looking over his shoulder prompted him; then after giving him many thanks, called for a glass of sack and drank to him, (saying, as it is in another manuscript, *O what am I, that God thus honours me; and will have me die for his sake!* which words drew tears from the eyes of a protestant that was standing by) after which he withdrew to praise and give thanks to God. Many such like things were daily observed in his comportment.

The last of June (the commemoration of the martyrdom of St. Paul) being come, our confessor having first spent the precedent night with his confessarius except two hours in which he reposed, having finished his confession and private devotions, celebrated the divine mysteries with tears trickling down his cheeks. Then "being called for" he went with great cheerfulness to the hurdle, on which he was drawn from the common goal of the King's-Bench to Tyburn. In the way some presented him with wine, and he taking the glass in his hand, asked leave of the sheriff to drink to his coachman, meaning the carter, that drove the horses. When he was come to the place of execution, arising from the hurdle, he knelt down upon his bare knees under the gallows, and there for some time prayed in silence; then rising, he stepped up into the cart, and making the sign of the cross upon himself, saying with a loud voice, *in nomine patris, &c.* he began to speak upon the text, *spectaculum facti sumus, &c.* *We are made a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men.* All you, said he,

‘ that are come to behold me, may think you are come to a sad spectacle,
 ‘ but to me it is not so. It is the happiest day, and greatest joy, that ever
 ‘ befel me; so that I may say with the prophet, *hæc dies quam fecit Do-*
 ‘ *minus, &c.* This is the day which God hath made; a day wherein I may
 ‘ truly rejoice in my soul: for I am brought hither, a condemned man, to
 ‘ execution; for no other cause or reason alledged against me, than that I
 ‘ am a Roman catholic priest, and a monk of the order of St. Bennet.
 ‘ And this I freely confessed myself. This confession and cause only bring-
 ‘ eth me hither to execution. I give God thanks, that he has honoured me
 ‘ with the dignity of a priest, and I glory that I am a monk of this
 ‘ holy order, which first converted this kingdom from being heathens
 ‘ and infidels, to Christianity, and the knowledge of God; St. Augustin
 ‘ being their leader, sent by St. Gregory the great, pope of Rome, with
 ‘ forty other monks.

‘ Here the sheriff interrupted him, and bid him tell none of his old
 ‘ stories and tales, and ordered the hangman to do his office, who im-
 ‘ mediately tied up the holy man to the gallows. What he spoke after-
 ‘ wards, was to express himself, how freely he forgave all who were
 ‘ accessory to his death; and to pray for the king, queen, prince, and
 ‘ royal progeny; and for a happy peace for the nation and the true know-
 ‘ ledge of God; desiring all catholics to pray for him. Then he knelt
 ‘ on the side of the cart, (for being tied up he could not kneel down)
 ‘ and made his prayer to himself; which being ended, lifting his eyes
 ‘ to heaven, and giving the appointed sign, he received absolution,
 ‘ “ from one of his brethren in the crowd, probably the same from whom
 we have copied the greatest part of this narration.” Then giving some
 money to the hangman, and pulling his cap down over his eyes, he
 waited in silent prayer, for the cart being drawn away, about a quarter
 of an hour; for the carter, whose office it was, having a horror of con-
 curring to the death of so holy and innocent a man, withdrew himself
 into the thick of the throng, and would not drive the cart away; but
 another was found to do the job, and the man of God was suffered to
 hang till he expired. His dead body was cut down, bowelled, and
 quartered; but his head and quarters were not set up, as usual, on the
 gates and bridge, but buried in the old church-yard in Moorfields; and
 this by petition of the common-council of London to the parliament,
 hoping, as it is supposed, by this means sooner to obliterate his memory,
 and the impression which his comportment had made upon the people.
 His cloaths and shirt, dyed with his blood, were redeemed of the
 hangman for 4l. by father Robert And—a benedictin. He suffered June
 30, 1646, *ætatis* 53, *relig.* 33, *missionis* 26.

One of his fellow-prisoners expressed his esteem for him by the fol-
 lowing lines:

‘ He was of princely race, of British blood,
 ‘ Nor yet the twentieth part so great as good,
 ‘ Sufficient, and so qualified withal,
 ‘ That he did seem to be without a gall.
 ‘ Mild, patient, stout: his hand to every poor
 ‘ Most open, till they blush’d to ask him more.
 ‘ Most temperate, and most constant to his Christ, &c.

One of the Douay manuscripts adds the following remarkable circumstance to the narration of his martyrdom, viz, that in the way whilst he was drawn from Southwark to Tyburn, it happened, that a collier met them on Cornhill, driving six strong horses with a load of coals; who being obliged to stop, and make way for the hurdle and crowd that attended it, fumed and raged at the holy man, complaining aloud, that he should be stopped in his way for that traitor, as he called him: but mark what follows; the hurdle was scarce passed, when one of the collier's horses, without any previous sign of hurt or illness, falls down dead in the street, and obliges his master to make a much longer stay, than that which so much offended him before. The same manuscript also takes notice, that the gaoler was so much taken with the comportment of the man of God, that he accompanied him to the place of execution, and always spoke of him with the highest esteem.

184. * *Edward Bamber, alias Reding, Priest.*

EDWARD Bamber, commonly known upon the mission by the name of Reding, was son of Mr. Richard Bamber, and born at a place called the Moor, the ancient mansion-house of the family, lying not far from Poulton, in that part of Lancashire called the Fylde. Having made a good progress in his grammar studies at home, he was sent abroad into Spain, to the English college at Valladolid, where he learnt his philosophy and divinity, and was ordained priest. ‘But in what year this happened, says Mr. Knaresborough, or when he was sent upon the mission, my short memoirs do not tell us; and they leave us as much in the dark, as to many other passages and particulars relating to the life and labours of this good priest, as well as to the history of his trial, of which we have a very imperfect account. But then, short as they are, they are very expressive of his zeal and indefatigable labours in gaining souls to God; his unwearied diligence in instructing the catholics committed to his charge; disputing with protestants; and going about to do good every where, in times and places of the greatest danger, with a courage and firmness of mind, much spoken of and admired at that time, and mentioned by one of his contemporary labourers, and fellow-prisoners, “in a short manuscript relation,” “as something that was wonderfully surprising, and, as he expresses it, above the power and strength of man.

‘When, how, or where he was apprehended, I have not found, but only this, that he had lain three whole years a close prisoner in Lancaster castle before he was brought to the bar.’ “But now the judges going out on their several circuits, which for some time before they could not do by reason of the civil wars, and coming to Lancaster, Mr. Bamber and two other priests his companions were brought upon their trial.” Here, ‘his conduct was discreet and cautious, so as to give the judge no unnecessary provocation; but at the same time his comportment was remarkably couragious and brave, in a degree that was

* From Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript collections.

‘ astonishing to the whole court ; where he stood with such an air of
‘ fortitude and resolution of suffering in defence of truth, as might not
‘ have ill become even one of the most forward and zealous confessors
‘ of the Cyprianic age. Two fallen catholics, Malden and Osbaldeston,
‘ appeared against him as witnesses : these wretches made oath that they
‘ had seen him administer baptism, and perform the ceremonies of marriage :
‘ and upon these slender proofs of his priesthood, the jury, by the judge’s
‘ direction, found him guilty of the indictment, who thereupon had sentence
‘ in the usual form, to be hanged, cut down alive, &c. as in cases of high-treason.
‘ All which Mr. Bamber heard with a composed countenance, and without manifesting the least sign of trouble or concern.

‘ It was on the 7th of August when he and his two fellow priests and confessors
‘ were drawn on sledges to the place of execution, and at the same time a poor
‘ wretch, one Croft, condemned for felony, was brought to die with them.
‘ Mr. Bamber applied his discourse in a most affectionate manner to this poor man ; beseeching him to take
‘ compassion on his soul, and provide for its eternal welfare, by true repentance
‘ of his sins, and embracing the true religion ; telling him for his encouragement,
‘ that it was never too late to make his peace with God, who shewed mercy
‘ to the penitent thief at the hour of death ; and he will also pardon thee,
‘ said he, if, like him, thou wilt be converted to him, and truly repent of thy sins.
‘ Take courage, my dear friend, and boldly declare thyself a catholic, and withal confess some
‘ of thy more public sins, and be truly contrite and sorry for all ; and I
‘ a priest and minister of Jesus Christ will instantly *in his name and by his authority*
‘ *absolve thee*. The officers of justice, and the ministers, began here to storm
‘ and threaten, but Mr. Bamber stood his ground and carried his point.
‘ The prisoner fairly declaring his fixed resolution of dying in the faith
‘ and communion of the catholic church ; and having confessed aloud
‘ some of his public and scandalous crimes, and begged pardon for them,
‘ and at the same time signifying his sincere repentance for his sins in general,
‘ Mr. Bamber, according to promise, publicly absolved him, in the sight
‘ and hearing of the crowd, and to the intolerable mortification and confusion
‘ of the protestant ministers. But they were resolved, it seems, he should
‘ do no more mischief ; and therefore bid him walk up the ladder, and
‘ prepare for death. The confessor obeyed their orders, having first taken
‘ leave of some friends, and sent a small token to some others, enjoining
‘ the messenger to tell them from him, not to grieve at his death, *for, says he, I hope to pray for them in heaven*.
‘ Here mounting up some steps he halted, and taking a handful of money
‘ he threw it among the people, saying with a smiling countenance that
‘ *God loved a chearful giver*. Then after some time spent in private
‘ devotions, he turned towards his fellow confessors, exhorting them to
‘ constancy and perseverance, having his eyes more particularly upon
‘ Mr. Whitaker, who by his looks appeared not a little terrified at the
‘ approaches of death, which gave occasion to the protestants to be
‘ very busy in tempting him with the hopes of life, if he would promise
‘ to conform to their religion. Mr. Bamber was speaking to him in the
‘ most tender and feeling manner,

‘ to be upon his guard, and beware of the enemy in that critical hour,
 ‘ on which the welfare of his soul was to depend for an eternity ;—
 ‘ when the sheriff called out hastily to the executioner to dispatch him ;
 ‘ and so he was that moment turned off the ladder, and permitted to
 ‘ hang a very short time, when the rope was cut, the confessor being
 ‘ yet alive ; and thus was he butchered in a most cruel and savage man-
 ‘ ner, as my author a priest and confessor, then actually a prisoner at
 ‘ Lancaster, has avowed in the relation above-mentioned, which he
 ‘ drew up upon the subject of the death of these three priests. Mr.
 ‘ Bamber suffered at Lancaster, August 7, 1646.’

An Ode or Sonnet composed on his death, and that of his companions, speaks of him :

STANZA 27 and 28.

Few words he spoke, they stopp'd his mouth,
 And choak'd him with a cord ;
 And lest he should be dead too soon,
 No mercy they afford.

But quick and live they cut him down,
 And butcher him full soon ;
 Behead, tear, and dismember straight,
 And laugh when all was done.

185. * *John Woodcock, alias Faringdon, Priest, O. S. F.*

John Woodcock, called in religion father Martin, of St. Felix, was born in Clayton near Preston in Lancashire, in the year 1603. His father was a protestant, his mother a catholic, who found means of sending her son over to the English college of St. Omer's, to be there trained up, by the fathers of the society, in piety and learning. Here he studied his humanity ; and from hence he was sent to the English college of Rome to learn his philosophy and divinity. But before he had gone through the usual course of his studies in that college, he conceived a strong desire of embracing a more strict and penitential kind of life. In order to this he first applied himself to the Capuchins, but not succeeding with them, he made his application to the English franciscans of Douay, by whom he was received, being cloathed by R. F. Paul Heath in 1631, and after his year's noviceship making his profession in the hands of R. F. Francis Bell, who, as we have already seen, both gave a glorious testimony to their faith at Tyburn, *anno* 1643. Within a year or two after his profession he was presented to the sacred order of priesthood ; and some time after made preacher and confessor. He lived also for some time at Arras with Mr. Sheldon, in quality of his chaplain and confessarius, till he was called away by his superiors, in order to be sent upon the English mission.

In England he discharged the part of a zealous and laborious missionary, notwithstanding his frequent infirmities, till being desirous of ending his days in his convent, he obtained leave of his superiors to re-

* From *Certamen Seraphicum*, p. 159, &c.

turn thither; where he lived a most exemplary life, suffering much from his almost continual illnesses with remarkable patience, till F. Paul Heath having lately suffered at Tyburn, and the English friars at Douay having a solemn thanksgiving-service on that occasion, where a French capuchin preached a most moving sermon upon the happiness of suffering in so good a cause; F. Martin was so animated with a desire of meeting with the same crown, that he desisted not importuning his superiors till he procured leave to return again upon the mission. He landed at Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence made the best of his way to Lancashire, his native country; where he was apprehended the very first night after his arrival, and the next day committed by a neighbouring justice of peace, to the county jail of Lancaster castle, in which he was kept two whole years, suffering much from the incommodities of the place, and daily aspiring after his happy dissolution.

His trial came on in the beginning of August, 1646, when being brought to the bar with his two companions, "Mr. Reding and Mr. Whitaker," he confessed himself a priest, and a friar of the order of St. Francis; his zeal during the time of his imprisonment, having furnished proofs enough of his being so, if he had had a mind to conceal it. Upon this confession he was condemned to die as in cases of high treason. It is hardly to be expressed with what joy he received the sentence, breaking out into acts of thanksgiving, such as *praise be to God! God be thanked, &c.* He passed the last night of his mortal life in prison, in meditation and mental prayer; and on the next day, being the 7th of August, 1646, he was drawn, together with the two gentlemen above-named, both priests of the secular clergy, to the place of execution; the catholics being much comforted and edified, and the protestants astonished and confounded, to see that chearfulness and courage with which these servants of God went to meet that barbarous and ignominious death to which they were condemned.

At the place of execution F. Woodcock being ordered up the ladder, after some short time spent in his private devotions, offered to speak to the people of the cause of his death, and the truth of the catholic faith; but he was quickly interrupted by the sheriff, and flung off the ladder by the executioner. Some say the rope broke immediately, so that being perfectly sensible he was ordered up the ladder again, to be hanged a second time. But however this may be, it seems he was scarce half hanged at last, but barbarously cut down and butchered alive. He suffered at Lancaster, in the 44th year of his age, the 15th of his religious profession, and the 13th of his priesthood. His head is kept in the cloyster of the English Franciscans at Douay.—N. B. F. Woodcock in some catalogues is known by the name of Thompson.

186. * *Thomas Whitaker, Priest.*

‘HE was son of Thomas and Helen Whitaker, born at Burnley in Lancashire, a small market town in Blackburn hundred, where he, the said Thomas, was master of a noted free-school. The son performed

* From Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript collections.

his grammar studies under his father's care ; and then for his farther improvement was sent abroad, at the charges of a neighbouring catholic family, " Townley of Townley," and went through his higher studies in the English college of Valladolid. He was ordained priest here, and entered upon the mission in some part of the year 1638, and exercised his functions with great zeal and success for the space of five years before his commitment to Lancaster castle. In this space of time he was once taken up, but escaped out of the hands of the pursuivants, while on the road towards Lancaster. His guard, it seems, having locked him up in his chamber at night, took the liberty of making merry below stairs, which Mr. Whitaker being apprized of, made his advantage of the occasion, and in the dead of the night let himself down out of the window : but the passage being very streight, he was forced to strip himself to his shirt, and through haste forgot to throw out his cloaths before him, so that he was obliged to make the best of his way that night in this naked condition. After wandering some miles, meeting with a pcor shelter, he ventured to sit down, and take breath a while, being at a loss what to do for cloaths and farther security of his person, in a part of the country where he was a stranger to the roads as well as to the people. But providence declared itself in his favour ; for while he was in these streights, a catholic met with him, and being informed of his character and condition, conducted him to his own house, and took such precautions for his concealment, that the good man made a safe and effectual escape for that time, and returned to his people and the exercise of his functions, leaving the pursuivants to the confusion of being well laughed at for not taking more care of their prisoner.

How long Mr. Whitaker enjoyed his liberty after this I cannot learn ; only I find that he was seized a second time, and that in the year 1643, at Mr. Midgeall's of Place-hall, in Goosenargh, and then he was effectually conducted to Lancaster, and committed to the castle or county gaol, on the 7th of August, the very day and month on which three years after he and his two companions were drawn on hurdles to the common place of execution. He was apprehended by a gang of priest-catchers, armed with clubs and swords ; who, it seems fell to club-law with their prisoner immediately, and ceased not to beat and abuse him (threatening also to murder him upon the spot) till they had extorted from him a confession that he was a priest.—In prison he was treated at first with uncommon severity, being sequestered from the other prisoners, and thrown into a nasty dungeon, where solitude and darkness were his portion, which he patiently suffered for six whole weeks before he was allowed the liberty of the common gaol, and the company of his fellow confessors.

An ancient priest, his fellow prisoner, who has left behind him a short account of the behaviour of the three martyrs, always speaks of Mr. Whitaker as a person of a most saintly life ; and declares from his own observation and knowledge (having been an eye-witness of his conduct for so long a time) that he was still the first and last at prayer, or rather that his whole employment was a continual communication with God, either in mental or vocal prayer ; and that the little time

‘ which he spared from his holy exercise was constantly employed in
 ‘ charitable offices about such of his fellow prisoners as by sicknesses or
 ‘ age stood in need of help. He was particularly assiduous with regard
 ‘ to his brethren the other three priests; the more, because being the
 ‘ youngest by far, he looked upon it his duty to serve them and assist
 ‘ them upon all occasions: and this he performed with pleasure, and at
 ‘ the same time with so much humility, deference and respect, as if he
 ‘ had verily believed them not only his *seniors* in years, but his superiors
 ‘ in authority—and was glad to be serviceable to them even in the low-
 ‘ est menial offices.

‘ Thus did this holy priest employ himself during the three years of
 ‘ his imprisonment: but when the assizes drew near, and he had notice
 ‘ given to prepare for his trial, he shut himself up in a more strict retire-
 ‘ ment, and a more exact spiritual retreat for a whole month; joining,
 ‘ during that time, to his prayer and contemplation, rigorous fasts,
 ‘ with other penitential exercises. For as he was by nature very timo-
 ‘ rous, and withal very sensible of his own weakness; so was he re-
 ‘ markably careful to place his trust in God in all dangers, and exceed-
 ‘ ingly diligent in the use of prayer and other proper means to obtain
 ‘ from him, who strengthens the weak, such grace and helps as were
 ‘ necessary for his support in the day of battle.

‘ His hearing before the judges was quickly over; for having owned
 ‘ himself a priest to the pursuivants and soldiers, who with threats of
 ‘ death extorted this confession from him, and these appearing witnes-
 ‘ ses against him, he could not, and would not deny the truth; and so
 ‘ committing his cause to God, and his condition to the favour and com-
 ‘ passion of the court, he said no more, but with a meek and humble
 ‘ deportment waited in silence the return and verdict of the jury, who
 ‘ after a short deliberation brought him, and his two companions, in
 ‘ guilty of their indictments; and the same day they all received sentence
 ‘ of death in the usual form.’

Mr. Whitaker was drawn with the other two to the place of execu-
 tion, on the 7th of August, and was the last that suffered. He was
 naturally of a faint-hearted and fearful disposition; and at the approaches
 of death shewed evident marks of the dread and anguish that assaulted
 his soul. This gave occasion to both his companions, in their turns, to
 exhort and encourage him; and to the protestants, to tempt him with
 proffers of life, if he would conform. But, notwithstanding, his natural
 fears were heightened by the sight of the barbarous butchery of his com-
 panions, and that scene of blood which he had before his eyes; the Al-
 mighty, whom he earnestly invoked, supported him by his powerful
 grace; and when it came to the upshot, he generously told the sheriff,
 ‘ his resolution was fixed to die in the profession of the catholic faith:
 ‘ *use your pleasure with me, said he, a reprieve, or even a pardon, upon*
 ‘ *your conditions, I utterly refuse.*

‘ When he was upon the ladder, he prayed devoutly and earnestly;
 ‘ and having now the rope about his neck, he prayed for his enemies,
 ‘ declaring that he freely forgave them, and that he heartily desired to
 ‘ die in perfect charity with all the world. Then resuming his former

‘ejaculatory prayers, while he was calling for mercy, and recommending his departing soul into the hands of his Saviour Jesus Christ, he was suddenly flung off the ladder, and executed. He suffered at Lancaster, August 7, 1646, in the 33d year of his age, and the 8th of his mission.’

187. *Richard Bradley, and John Felton, priests. S. J. Confessors.*

THESE two religious fathers both died confessors of Christ within the same month, some part of this year 1646. The former falling into the hands of the pursuivants, was committed close prisoner at Manchester, and died of the gaol disease, before he was brought to his trial. The latter venturing to go into Lincoln in a disguise, in order to assist father John Hood, who looked for his trial and death at the next assizes, was there apprehended upon suspicion; and after some weeks imprisonment in that city, in great want of all things, was translated to another gaol, and lodged in a cold room in the winter season, where the wind blew in on all sides. Here he continued destitute of all human aid and comfort, and continually afflicted with the blasphemies and other immoralities of the wretches his fellow-prisoners, till after 7 months, no witnesses appearing against him, he was discharged indeed from prison, but with his health and strength so much impaired, that he died within a month. See *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*, pag. 73, 74, who informs us, pag. 75, that father Felton, for 27 years, never omitted preaching on all Sundays and holidays.

188. *Thomas Vaughan, Priest, Confessor.*

THIS gentleman, though he did not suffer at the common place of execution, was, nevertheless, a martyr for his character and religion; and that, in the time of these troubles, though I have not met with the certain year of his death. Mr. Austin, in his *Christian Moderator*, published under the name of W. Birchly, part II. giving a list of the priests executed in several places, during the parliamentary persecution which begun in 1641, closes it with this short account of our confessor, ‘Mr. Thomas Vaughan, after very hard usage aboard Captain Molton’s ship, soon after died at Cardiffe in South Wales.’

He was of the ancient family of the Vaughans, of Courtfield, and was nephew to the famous Dr. Giffard, who from a priest and professor of divinity in the English college then residing at Rhemes, became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, and first president general of the English congregation; and at length was made archbishop of Rhemes, and primate of France. Mr. Vaughan, as appears by the Douay diary, entered student in the English college of Douay, anno 1622; and having taken the college oath, was by Dr. Kellison, then president, presented for holy orders to his uncle, the archbishop of Rhemes, from whom he received all his orders in September 1627, and was from Douay sent upon the English mission, the 27th of Aug. 1628. Other particulars relating to him, I have not been able to find.

Some time also during these troubles, though I have not found the precise year, died prisoner for his faith and character, Mr. Thomas Blount, another priest of the secular clergy. He was a younger son of James Blount, esq; performed his humanity studies at St. Omers; was sent from thence to the English seminary of Valladolid, but after six months' stay there, returned into England; then going abroad again, he entered himself a convictor in the English college of Lisbon, anno 1635, where he finished his studies, and was made priest. He was sent upon the mission, April 14, 1642, and having for some years discharged the duty of a laborious missionary in the worst of times, he was apprehended and committed to the common gaol in Shrewsbury, and died there.

And now we are speaking of priests that died prisoners for their religion, we must not omit to mention father Robert Cox, in religion called father Benedict, an eminent religious man of the venerable order of St. Bennet, who, after having received the sentence of death, and endured a long and tedious martyrdom in prison, died in the Clink, anno 1650. We are forced to pass over the sufferings of divers other priests in those evil days, for want of proper records.

1647, &c.—From the year 1646, till the year 1651, I find not any priests put to death for their character; though otherwise the persecution against catholics did not cease, and the sequestrators were every where busy in sequestering and plundering their estates, as well real as personal. That the reader may have a better idea of the sufferings of catholics in this kind, I shall here transcribe some pages out of Mr. Knaresborough's manuscript collections, concerning these sequestrations.

The sequestration of two parts of the catholic estates real and personal, pursuant to several ordinances of the lords and commons, A. D. 1643, 1644, &c.

' The first of these ordinances bears date April the first, 1643, appointing certain persons, there named, to be commissioners or sequestrators for the several counties of England and Wales; and empowering them forthwith to seize as well all the monies and other personal estate, as also all the manors, lands, and other real estates of notorious delinquents, that is to say, of all persons who had then raised, or should afterwards raise arms against the parliament; or who had voluntarily contributed, or should contribute any monies, horse, plate, arms, ammunition, or other aid or assistance, towards the maintenance of any forces raised against the parliament.

' And also two parts of all the estates of every papist, or which any person had in trust, or for the use of any papist; this to be let, set, sold, and converted and applied to the uses of the parliament, towards supporting the charges of the war.

' A second ordinance passed the 19th of August the same year, containing an explanation and further enlargement of the fore-mentioned ordinance for sequestering the estates of delinquents and papists. In this is explained, who are to be deemed papists, and who are liable to the penalty mentioned above; that is, of having two parts of their

‘ estate seized for the use of the parliament. These are, first, all such
 ‘ as have willingly harboured any popish priest since the 29th of No-
 ‘ vember, 1642, or that should hereafter harbour any. 2dly, all that
 ‘ had been already convicted of popish recusancy. 3dly, or that have
 ‘ been at mass any time within one whole year, before the 26th of
 ‘ March 1643, or should hereafter be at mass ; or whose children, or
 ‘ grand-children, or any of them living in the house with them, or un-
 ‘ der their tuition, shall be brought up in the popish religion. Finally,
 ‘ all such persons, as being of the age of 21 years, should refuse to take
 ‘ the oath of *abjuration*, “ by which they abjure and renounce transub-
 ‘ stantiation, &c.” which oath, any two of the committee-men, or
 ‘ any two justices of the peace ; or for want of these, the mayor, bai-
 ‘ liffs, or head officer of any city or town corporate, had power to ten-
 ‘ der to any suspected papist.—All these are here declared liable to the
 ‘ penalty above-mentioned ; that is, two parts of three of their whole
 ‘ estates real and personal, were to be forthwith seized, sold, and dis-
 ‘ posed for the uses of the parliament.

‘ And to the end that a full discovery might be had of the catholic
 ‘ estates, so that it should be morally impossible for them to convey
 ‘ away any part of their effects, or conceal or skreen them from the
 ‘ commissioners’ knowledge, by the assistance of their protestant friends,
 ‘ or otherwise, the said sequestrators were further empowered by this
 ‘ second ordinance, to examine, upon oath, any person suspected to be
 ‘ aiding in concealing these men or their effects, or intrusted for them,
 ‘ or who should owe any thing, or be indebted to any papist ; and if the
 ‘ said persons should refuse to be examined, or to declare the whole
 ‘ truth, they were to be committed to safe custody till they should con-
 ‘ form, and make the discovery insisted upon by the commissioners.

‘ And for the more speedy and effectual seizure of the personal es-
 ‘ tates of the said delinquents and papists, the commissioners had power
 ‘ to authorize their several collectors, and agents employed under them,
 ‘ to break open all locks, bolts, bars, doors, or other strength, where
 ‘ monies or goods were, upon probable grounds, suspected to be con-
 ‘ cealed, and seize the same into their possession ; with this further en-
 ‘ gagement to such as were assisting to the sequestrators, that for their
 ‘ reward, they were to have one shilling in the pound, of all monies,
 ‘ lands or goods, as they should discover ; and for their indemnity, the
 ‘ protection of both houses of parliament ; and to be esteemed as per-
 ‘ sons who did acceptable service to the commonwealth.

‘ Finally, amongst the remarkable instructions given to the seques-
 ‘ trators, consisting of 13 articles, that of number six ought to be care-
 ‘ fully remembered, viz. *You are to seize two parts of the estates, both*
 ‘ *real and personal, of all papists, (as they are papists) and the whole*
 ‘ *estates of all other sorts of delinquents mentioned in the said ordinance,*
 ‘ *whether they be papists or others ; and you are to understand by two*
 ‘ *parts of papists estates, two of their whole lands, and two of their*
 ‘ *goods into three to be divided.*

‘ Armed with these powers, the sequestrators set out towards their
 ‘ respective divisions, and fell to seize, sell, or let, the estates of pa-
 ‘ pists wherever they could come at them. And in the south and mid-

land counties they made quick dispatch; bringing under sequestration, either as delinquents or convict recusants, the whole body of the catholics without exception. But as the progress of the parliament's victories was not so quick in the north and west, so neither could their committees execute their powers with that undisturbed freedom, nor make their seizures and commit their plunders with the same unlimited and uncontrouled tyranny, as they did in those counties which had been more early reduced, &c.

But after his majesty's affairs declined, and his forces were so weakened, as not to be able to make head against the rebels, then the sequestrators poured in upon those other provinces, and fell upon all the estates of the royalists and catholics, not hitherto sequestered, with rage and fury.

After the independents came in play, they made great changes in their commissions, and put in sequestrators of their own party: but the harvest then was in a great measure over. The catholic estates had already been under sequestration seven or eight years, and the presbyterians had plundered them to the bare walls, so that there was nothing left to these new sequestrators. However, as they were a hungry crew, they were resolved to have something from the papists, though less; and thus they made new inquests, and forced many of these oppressed people to undergo new compositions, upon pretence that they had not been sequestered according to the full extent and meaning of the late ordinances.

Of the sufferings of the catholics in general, and of the miserable state to which they were reduced by these sequestrations, take this short but faithful account from a cotemporary writer, an eye-witness of their oppressures, viz. Mr. Austin, under the name of William Birchley, in his *Christian Moderator*, part I. p. 9, &c.

Of the papists, says he, some are sequestered for delinquency, and those of all cavaliers (*cæteris paribus*) the most severely, though of all the most excusable, because wholly depending upon the pleasure of the late king, and infinitely obliged to his royal lenity; noting it as an answerable argument of their fidelity and gratitude toward such as deal with them in mercy, as also that their declining to receive the oaths of *supremacy and allegiance*, for which they have heretofore been so violently persecuted, proceeded not from any aversion to civil obedience, but because there were mingled in those oaths certain expressions of a pure spiritual nature, repugnant to their consciences, and altogether unnecessary to the common security.

Others are equally punished, that is, their whole estate sequestered, allowing only a fifth part for their wives and children, though in true reason they are altogether justifiable, having never been in any engagement, but found only in some garrisons of the king, whither they were driven for refuge, being put out of the protection of the parliament by public proclamation, their houses every where rifled, their goods plundered, and lives endangered by the soldiers, whose condition seems clearly to be within the equity of that article of the army's proposals, August 1647. *That the king's menial servants, who never took up arms, but*

‘ only attended on his person, according to their offices, be freed from
 ‘ composition ; much more those who had both the civil reason of duty,
 ‘ and the unanswerable argument of necessity, to plead for their dis-
 ‘ charge : and (which is yet more hard) some recusants of this class,
 ‘ who never bare arms, but were only found in garrisons, for their own
 ‘ personal security, as aforesaid, are now ranked among the highest de-
 ‘ linquents, and their estates to be sold, such as sir Henry Bedingfield,
 ‘ Mr. Bodenham, Mr. Gifford, &c.

‘ As for the single recusants, two thirds of their estates are seized
 ‘ upon; only for the cause of religion, under which notion are in-
 ‘ cluded all such as were heretofore convicted of not resorting to com-
 ‘ mon prayers, or do now refuse the oath of *abjuration*, a new oath
 ‘ made by the two houses, when the former kind of service was abolish-
 ‘ ed, wherein the practice is strangely severe ; for upon bare information,
 ‘ the estate of the suspected is secured, that is, his rents, &c. suspend-
 ‘ ed, before any trial or legal proof, even in these times of peace ; and
 ‘ being once thus half condemned, he has no other remedy to help
 ‘ himself, but by forswearing his religion, and so by an oath a thousand
 ‘ times harsher than that *ex officio*, they draw out of his own mouth his
 ‘ condemnation.

‘ When the sequestrators have thus seized into their hands two thirds
 ‘ of the most innocent recusants lands and goods, then come the excise-
 ‘ men, tax-gatherers, and other collectors, and pinch away no small
 ‘ part of the poor third penny that was left them ; so that after these
 ‘ deductions, I have known some estates of three hundred pounds a
 ‘ year, reduced to less than threescore ; a lean pittance to maintain
 ‘ them and their children, being persons for the most part of good quali-
 ‘ ty, and civil education. And as for priests, it is made as great a crime
 ‘ to have taken *orders* after the rites of their church, as to have com-
 ‘ mitted the most heinous treason that can be imagined, and they are far
 ‘ more cruelly punished than those that murder their own parents.

‘ Besides these extreme and fatal penalties that lie upon the recusants
 ‘ merely for their conscience, there are many other afflictions whereof
 ‘ few take notice, which though of lesser weight, yet being added to
 ‘ the former, quite sink them down to the bottom of sorrow and per-
 ‘ plexity ; as their continual fear of having their houses broke open and
 ‘ searched by pursuivants, who enter at what hours they please, and
 ‘ do there what they list, taking away not only all the instruments of
 ‘ their religion, but oftentimes money, plate, watches, and other such
 ‘ popish idols, especially if they be found in the same room with any
 ‘ pictures, and so infected with a relative superstition.

‘ Another of their afflictions is, that they, I mean these single re-
 ‘ cusants, have no power to sell or mortgage the least part of their es-
 ‘ tates, either to pay their just debts, or defray their necessary expences,
 ‘ whereby they are disabled of all commerce, and their credit being ut-
 ‘ terly lost (upon which many of them now provide even their daily bread)
 ‘ they must needs in a short time be brought to a desperate necessity,
 ‘ if not absolute ruin ; and if any, the most quiet and moderate amongst
 ‘ them, should desire to transplant himself into a milder climate; and
 ‘ endeavour to avoid the offence that is taken against him in his own

‘ country, he cannot so dispose of his estate here, as by bill of exchange,
 ‘ or any other way, to provide the least subsistence for himself and his
 ‘ family : a severity far beyond the most rigid practice of the Scotch
 ‘ Kirk ; for there (as I am informed) the persons of recusants are only
 ‘ banished out of the kingdom, and prohibited to reside at their own
 ‘ homes above forty days in a year, which time is allowed them for the
 ‘ managing of their estate, and their estates allowed them for their
 ‘ maintenance abroad. A proceeding which their principles would
 ‘ clearly justify, if they could justify their principles. But in England,
 ‘ where compulsion on the conscience is decried as the worst of slaveries,
 ‘ to punish men so sharply for matters of religion, contrary to the prin-
 ‘ ciples publicly received, is a course that must needs beget over all the
 ‘ world a strong suspicion and prejudice against the honour and reputa-
 ‘ tion of that state, which at the same time can practise such manifest
 ‘ contradictions.

‘ To this deplorable condition are the English catholics now reduced ;
 ‘ yet they bear all, not only with patience, but even silence ; for amongst
 ‘ the printed complaints so frequent in these times, never any thing hath
 ‘ been seen to proceed from them, though always the chief, and now
 ‘ the sole sufferers for their conscience, except (not to be altogether
 ‘ wanting to themselves) some modest petitions humbly addressed to
 ‘ the parliament, though such hath been their unhappiness, that more
 ‘ weighty affairs have still disappointed their being taken into conside-
 ‘ ration ; else were they admitted to clear themselves of the mistakes
 ‘ and scandals unjustly imputed to them, they would not doubt fully
 ‘ to satisfy all ingenuous, and dispassionate men, nay even whomsoever,
 ‘ that were but moderately prejudiced against them.’ So far Mr. Aus-
 tin.

Who in his second part sets down the following passages, observed
 by himself, upon cases depending before the commissioners at Haber-
 dashers-hall, which will further demonstrate the grievances the catholics
 endured in those evil days.

‘ The case of Mr. Robert Knightley a recusant only, a great part of
 ‘ whose mansion-house in Essex was pulled down to repair the fort at
 ‘ Tilbury ; for which he petitioned at Haberdashers-hall in December
 ‘ 1651, to have satisfaction out of the two sequestered parts of his own
 ‘ lands there ; but in regard it appeared to be done before January 1649,
 ‘ the present commissioners’ answer was, *they had no power to relieve*
 ‘ *him.*

‘ On the 11th of February 1651, was heard the case of Mr. Parker,
 ‘ the lord Morley’s only son, about 14 years of age : he petitioned for
 ‘ maintenance out of his father’s sequestered estate ; but because it was
 ‘ suspected the child might incline to his father’s religion, who is
 ‘ a papist, it was denied him, unless he might be taken both from fa-
 ‘ ther and mother, and committed to the government of a mere stranger ;
 ‘ which was ordered accordingly, and the poor pittance of 100l. *per*
 ‘ *annum* only allowed him out of his own and father’s estate.

‘ In February 1651, Mr. James Hanham of the west petitions the
 ‘ commissioners at Haberdashers-hall to this effect : that he had never

acted any thing against the parliament, yet two parts of his estate were sequestered with such rigour for his recusancy, that he could not possibly subsist with necessaries by the remaining thirds, when taxes and other charges were deducted: that he was therefore constrained to borrow 50*l.* upon bond, and having disbursed 15*l.* of the money, it seems the sequestrators got notice that the petitioner had somewhat in his house worth a new sequestration or review, as they call it; thereupon they search his trunks, find the remaining 35*l.* pull out the guilty bag, and two parts of it they sequester into their own pockets, to the use of the commonwealth; and for relief therein Mr. Hanham appealed, but found no redress at present, more than an order for the sub-commissioners in the country to examine the business, and certify, &c. At the return of whose certificate, I leave the petitioner to expect his doom.

On the 31st of march 1652, the petition of one Hamond or Ammot, was read, to this effect: that the petitioner never did bear arms or assist the enemies of the parliament, yet his estate had lain under sequestration ever since the year 1645, and not one penny allowed him for his maintenance. That the petitioner, being a recusant, did in the time of the late war continue at his own house, as long as he could without apparent danger of his life; but considering how obnoxious even the most peaceable of his religion were to be affronted and ruined, by the daily mischiefs they received from some disorderly soldiers, and especially seeing one of his neighbours (a recusant) slain at his own door, the petitioner did then, and not before, fly for protection to a garrison of the late king's, without acting any thing in the least kind against the parliament. And therefore humbly prayed he might have a fifth of his estate, and the arrears allowed him to buy bread. But it not appearing to the commissioners that he had wife or children, their answer was, *they had not power to grant him any relief.*

On the 16th of April, 1652, the case of Mrs. Church, of Essex, a recusant, was heard, whose petition spake to this effect: that her late husband in his life-time settled a lease of Muck-hall (or such like name) in Essex, of considerable value upon her, in lieu of jointure, for divers years yet in being, and was held of the late dean and chapter of St. Paul's: that alderman Andrews and Mr. Nathaniel his son, had bought the reversion of those lands, at Gurney-house, and had since taken a lease for seven years of the commissioners for sequestration in Essex, of the whole present possession, without the petitioner's consent or knowledge, and without any regard to her thirds: and that the said Mr. Andrews having now possession of the whole estate, had demolished the petitioner's mansion-house, and did refuse to pay the petitioner her thirds, whereby she was driven to a necessity of wanting bread, being a distressed and friendless widow of almost eighty years of age: she therefore prayed her thirds and the arrears, and that the said lease might be annulled, &c.

The first was charitably granted, but as to the lease, and what her thirds should be, she was left to the mercy of Mr. Andrews, who I fear does forget what the Father of Mercies says in Jerem. xxii. 3, *execute judgment and righteousness, and deliver the spoiled out of the*

‘ hands of the oppressor, and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger,
 ‘ and fatherless, and widow, &c. And in Matt. xxiii. 14, woe unto
 ‘ you scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye devour widows houses, and
 ‘ for a pretence make long prayer ; therefore ye shall receive the greater
 ‘ damnation.

‘ That which in this case did most exact my observation, was, that
 ‘ Mr. Andrews (a person of quality) should make use of his power
 ‘ against a poor widow, and should be present, and openly avow the
 ‘ taking of her estate over her head, with so little regard to the thirds,
 ‘ which is allowed her by the act of parliament, and so much to his own
 ‘ benefit, without which it is like he would not have taken it, and with
 ‘ which the petitioner must needs suffer.

‘ From Haberdashers-hall give me leave to make a step into Moor-
 ‘ fields, where on the 19th of May 1650, being the Lord’s-day, Ri-
 ‘ chard Ledsam and one Ledbeater, two pursuivants apprehended Ro-
 ‘ bert Segar, a poor old decrepid man, upon a suspicion (and it was but
 ‘ a suspicion) that he had been at the Spanish ambassador’s at mass ;
 ‘ upon this bare surmise the poor man was searched, and in his pockets
 ‘ they found an old prayer book ; whereupon he was carried before a
 ‘ a justice of peace, and committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster,
 ‘ where he lay in the common gaol till the quarter sessions in January
 ‘ 1651, being full twenty months, without any discharge or proceedings
 ‘ against him, and at that sessions was acquitted by proclamation, through
 ‘ the mercy of justice Scobell, but was detained prisoner (until April
 ‘ 1652) by Mr. Weeks the keeper of the prison, for the rent of his
 ‘ lodging, for which the said keeper demanded fourteen pence a week,
 ‘ besides fees ; and yet (as I am credibly informed) the old man lay on
 ‘ the boards in the common gaol, and had no other pillow for his head,
 ‘ but a hard stone, for which he must now pay more than he is worth,
 ‘ or continue till he perish in prison, being above 86 years of age.

‘ And now I am at the Gatehouse I shall give you the supplement of
 ‘ a like sad story, mentioned in the twenty-first page of the first part of
 ‘ this Moderator, concerning a great-bellied gentlewoman, committed to
 ‘ prison on the 24th of June 1651, her name upon enquiry I find was
 ‘ Delavall, an English woman, but her husband a French man ; she
 ‘ was committed to the Gatehouse, and with much importunity got
 ‘ leave by petition, to go out upon bail, till she was brought to bed, but
 ‘ was an actual prisoner full seven months of the twelve, which is pre-
 ‘ scribed by the statute, and the fine of 100 marks stood charged upon
 ‘ her, till she was relieved by the late act of *oblivion*, and all this poor
 ‘ woman’s sufferings merely grounded upon a bare supposition, that she
 ‘ had been at the then French agent’s in Long Acre at mass, without so
 ‘ much as one witness that there was any mass said there at all ; it be-
 ‘ ing the truth of the case (if I may believe their most serious protesta-
 ‘ tions) that they were only at their other private devotions.’

See much more in this author of the unmerciful severities which the
 catholics endured in those days ; who also informs us, that the seques-
 trators had so little regard to charity, or even common humanity, that
 they ‘ tripartited even the day-labourer’s goods, and very household stuff,
 ‘ and have taken away two cows where the whole stock was but three.’

I shall here add my lord Castleman's list (though imperfect in regard to several persons omitted) of catholic noblemen and gentlemen that lost their lives for their loyalty in the quarrel of king Charles the first.

A Catalogue of Catholics that lost their lives for their Loyalty.

THE earl of Carnarvan, slain at *Newbury*, first battle. { Lord viscount Dunbar, at *Scarbro'*, and two of his sons wounded.

KNIGHTS.

Sir J. Smith, banneret, (who rescued the king's standard from the rebels at Edghill) slain at <i>Alresford</i> , in Hampshire.	{ Nich. Fortescue, knight of Malta, slain in <i>Lancashire</i> .
J. Cansfield, wounded at <i>Newbury</i> , of which he died a lingering death.	{ Troylus Turbevil, capt.-lieut. of the king's life-guard, slain upon his majesty's marching from <i>Newark</i> to <i>Oxford</i> .
H. Gage (governor of Oxford) slain at <i>Collumbridge</i> , Jan. 11, 1644.	{ J. Preston, wounded at <i>Furnace</i> , of which he died a lingering death.
J. Digby, wounded at <i>Taunton</i> , and died at <i>Bridgewater</i> .	{ Arth. Aston (governor of Redding) slain at <i>Tredaugh</i> in cold blood.
P. Brown, wounded at <i>Naseby</i> , died at <i>Northampton</i> .	{ Thos. Tildesly, slain at <i>Wigan</i> .
Tim. Featherstone, killed at <i>Chester</i>	{ H. Slingsby, beheaded on <i>Tower-hill</i> .

COLONELS.

Col. Tho. Howard (son of the lord Wm. Howard) slain at <i>Peirs-bridge</i> .	{ wounded at <i>Newbury</i> , second battle, and died at <i>Marlborough</i> .
Th. Howard (son of sir Francis) at <i>Atherton-moor</i> : the gaining of which battle was principally ascribed to his valour.	{ Francis Hungate, slain at <i>Chester</i> .
Thos. Morgan, of Weston, in Warwickshire, slain at <i>Newbury</i> , first battle: he raised a regiment of horse for the king at his own charge, and his estate was given to Mr. Pym's son.	{ Poor (governor of Berkley-castle) near <i>Lidney</i> .
Cuthbert Conniens, at <i>Malpass</i> .	{ Wm. Ewre (son to the late lord Ewre) at <i>Marston-moor</i> .
T. Dalton, of Thurnham, mortally	{ Ral. Pudsey, at ———
	{ Cuth. Clifton, slain at <i>Manchester</i> .
	{ Cas. Bental, at <i>Stow</i> in the <i>Wolds</i> .
	{ Trollop, slain at <i>Wigan</i>
	{ Wm. Bains, at <i>Malpass</i> .
	{ Wm. Walton, at <i>Tredagh</i> .
	{ Rich. Manning, at <i>Alresford</i> .

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Lieut. Col. Thos. Markham, of <i>Al-lerton</i> , slain near <i>Gainsborough</i> .	{ Wm. Houghton, at <i>Newbury</i> .
Lanc. Holtby, at <i>Branceford</i> .	{ Phil. Howard, slain at <i>Chester</i> .
Haggerston, at <i>Preston</i> .	{ Middleton, at <i>Hopton-heath</i> .
Pavier, at <i>Lincoln</i> .	{ Michael Constable, there also.
Jordan Metham, at <i>Pontefract</i> .	{ Sayr, at <i>Naseby</i> .
John Godfrey, at <i>Tewksbury</i> .	{ Scot, at <i>Alresford</i> .
George Preston, at <i>Bradford</i> .	{ Thomas Salvin, at ———
	{ Richard Brown, at ———

Goodridge, wounded at —, and } Congrave, slain at *Dean*, in *Glou-*
died at *Oxford* } *cestershire*

SERJEANT-MAJORS.

Major Cusand, slain at the taking of <i>Basing</i> , in cold blood	Lawr. Clifton, at <i>Shelfordhouse</i>
Rich. Harborn, wounded at <i>Mal-</i> <i>pass</i> , died at <i>Kendal</i>	Thomas Heskith, at <i>Malpass</i>
T. Vavasor, slain at <i>Marston Moor</i>	William Leak, at <i>Newbury</i> 1.
Panton, wounded at <i>Cover</i> , died at <i>Highmeadow</i>	Rively, wounded at <i>Naseby</i> , died prisoner at <i>London</i>
Hudleston, slain at <i>York</i>	Richard Sherburn, at —
Thomas Ewre, at <i>Newbury</i> 1.	Holmby, at <i>Henly</i>
	R. Norwood, slain before <i>Taunton</i>

CAPTAINS.

Capt. Marmaduke Constable, stan- dard bearer to Lieu-Gen. Lindsey, slain at <i>Edghill</i>	Anth. Hamerton, near <i>Manchester</i>
W. Laborn and M. Anderton, at <i>Sheriff-hutton</i> in <i>Yorkshire</i>	W. Symcots, Cap.-Lieut. to lord Piercy, slain at <i>Newbury</i> 1.
Joseph Constable, at <i>Newbury</i>	Thomas Singleton, at <i>Newbury</i> 1
Wiburn, slain at <i>Basing</i> , in cold blood	Francis Errington, of <i>Denton</i> in <i>Northumberland</i> , at <i>Rotheram</i>
Thomas Paston, slain at <i>York</i>	George Singleton, at —
Henry Butler, slain at <i>Brinle</i>	Michael Fitzakerly, at <i>Liverpool</i>
Burgh, slain at <i>Cover</i>	Daniel Thorold, at <i>Naseby</i>
Thurston Anderton, wounded at <i>Newbury</i> , died at <i>Oxford</i>	Francis Clifton, at <i>Newbury</i> 1
Haggarston, eldest son of sir Thomas in <i>Lancashire</i>	John Lance, at <i>Islip</i>
Anthony Rigby, at <i>Basing-house</i>	George Cassey, at <i>Hereford</i>
Richard Bradford, at —	Langdale, at <i>Greekhovel</i> in <i>Wales</i>
Kenelm Digby (eldest son of sir Kenelm Digby) raised a troop of horse at his own charge, and was slain at <i>St. Neot's</i>	Carver, in <i>Monmouthshire</i>
Ratcliff Houghton, at <i>Preston</i>	John Lingen, at <i>Ledbury</i>
Robert Molineux, of the Wood in <i>Lancashire</i> , slain at <i>Newbury</i> 1.	Samways, at <i>Newbury</i> 2.
Charles Thimelby, at <i>Worcester</i>	John Plumton, slain at <i>York</i>
Robert Townsend, at <i>Edge-hill</i>	Peter Forcer, at —
Matthew Ratcliff, near <i>Henly</i>	Thos. Whittingham, at <i>Newbury</i>
Richard Wolfole, at <i>Newbury</i>	Winkley, at <i>Liverpool</i>
Anthony Awd	Thomas Anderton, at —
Thomas Cole, at <i>Newark</i>	Richard Walmsly, at <i>Ormschurch</i>
Pattison, at <i>Wigan</i>	J. Singlehurst & J. Butler, at <i>Mar-</i> <i>ston Moor</i>
Maximilian Nelson, at <i>Marston Moor</i>	George Holden, at <i>Usk</i>
Francis Godfrey, slain at <i>Sherburn</i>	Richard Latham, at <i>Litchfield</i>
Thomas Meynel, at <i>Pontefract</i>	Thomas Charnock, at —
John Clifton, at <i>Shelford House</i>	Robert Dent, at <i>Newcastle</i>
Abraham Lance	T. Heskith & J. Knipe, at <i>Bindle</i>
R. Lance, at <i>Rowton</i> in <i>Cheshire</i>	Thomas Eccleston, at —
Vol. II.	J. Hothersal & Nic. Anderton, at <i>Greenoo Castle</i>
A a	Anthony Girlington, at <i>Lancaster</i>
	Francis Rous, in <i>Dean Forest</i>
	Randolph Wallinger, at <i>Cover</i>
	Chris. Wray, slain at <i>Bradford</i>
	Robert Rookwood, at <i>Oxford</i>
	William Rookwood, <i>Alresford</i>

Hoskins, slain at Lidney in cold blood	} bury 2, died in prison at <i>London</i>
Phil. Darcey, at ———	
Wil. Jones, at <i>Ragland</i>	
Henry Wells, wounded at <i>New-</i>	
	} Richardson, slain before <i>Taunton</i>
	} Thos. Madden, slain in Woodstreet
	} by the fanatics, Jan. 1660.

INFERIOR - OFFICERS.

Lieuts. W. Butler, slain at <i>Newbury</i>	}	James Bradford, at ———
Richard Osbalston, at <i>Leeds</i>		Thomas Kinsman, at <i>Lincoln</i>
George Hothersal, at <i>Liverpool</i>		John Birch, at <i>Birmicham</i>
Wil. Girlington, at ———		Staley, at <i>Rashall-hall</i>
John Kulcheth, at <i>Worral</i>		Cornets. W. Culcheth, at <i>Newbury</i>
Wil. Singleton, at <i>Marston</i>		Deinton, at <i>Cardiff</i>
Peter Boardman, at <i>Bradford</i>		Robert Lance, in <i>Cheshire</i>
Short, slain near <i>Gloucester</i>		Edward Walker, at <i>Burton</i>
Rich. Bradford, at <i>Blechington</i>		Miles Lochard, at <i>Gooderidge</i> .

GENTLEMEN-VOLUNTEERS.

Messrs. Ed. Talbot (brother to the now earl of <i>Shrewsbury</i> , slain at <i>Marston-Moor</i>	}	James Anderton, in <i>Wales</i>
C. Townly & C. Sherburn, there also		Thomas Roper, at <i>Gootheridge</i>
Nicholas Thimelby, at <i>Bristow</i>		Stephen Pudsey, in <i>Holderness</i>
Pool, of <i>Worral</i> , at ———		Francis Pavier, at <i>Marston</i>
John Typper, at <i>Newnam</i>		James Banton, at <i>Cover</i>
Chris. Blount, at <i>Edghalston</i>		Thomas Pendrel, at <i>Stow</i>
Theodore Mouse, at <i>Langport</i>		Boniface Kemp & Ildefons Hesketh, slain near <i>York</i> , in cold blood
Gerard Salvin, at ———		Michael Wharton, at <i>Scarborough</i>
Francis Darcey, at ———		Errington, at <i>Chester</i>
Wiburn, at <i>Basing</i>		T. Westby, doc. of physic, at <i>Preston</i>
Robert Bowles, at <i>Basing</i>		Peter Davis, at <i>Denbigh</i>
Wil. Stoner, at <i>Basing</i>		Edward Davis, at <i>Chester</i>
Price, of <i>Washingley</i> , slain at <i>Lin-</i>		Bret, at ———
<i>coln</i> , in cold blood		Roger Wood, at <i>Chester</i>
Cuth. Ratcliff, slain at <i>Newcastle</i>		Henry Lawson, at <i>Melton</i>
Thomas Latham, at <i>Newark</i>		T. Craithorn the elder, at <i>Uphaven</i>
Andrew Giffard, at <i>Hampton</i>		Henry Johnson, at ———
Richard Seborn, at <i>Ragland</i>		Three sons of Mr. Kitby of <i>Rancliff</i>
William Alsley, at <i>Wigan</i>		John Witham, at <i>Preston</i>
Lewis Blount, at <i>Manchester</i>		William Selby, at <i>Preston</i>
Carey & Gennings, at <i>Shelfordhouse</i>		Maj. Gen. Web, dreadfully wound- ed at <i>Newbury</i> by case-shot

The names of such catholics whose estates (both real and personal) were sold, in pursuance of an act made by the rump, July 16, 1651, for their pretended delinquency; that is, for adhering to their king.

John lord marquis of <i>Worcester</i> , who so valiantly defended <i>Basing</i> <i>house</i>	}	Marmaduke lord Langdale & son
Henry lord marquis of <i>Worcester</i> , who has been at least 300,000l. loser by the war		Sirs. J. Winter, who so stoutly de- fended <i>Lidney-house</i>
Francis lord Cottington		T. Tildesly slain, & estate sold
Lord John Somerset		H. Slingsby beheaded at <i>Tower-hill</i> and estate sold
		Piercy Herbert, now lord <i>Powis</i>
		Francis Howard

Henry Bedingfield	{ Charles Townly
Arthur Aston, governor of <i>Reading</i>	{ Rowland Eyre
Thomas Haggarston	{ Peter Pudsey
Esqrs. Roger Bodenham	{ John Giffard.

Other catholics, whose estates were sold by an additional rump act, made Aug. 4, 1652.

H. lord viscount Dunbar & son	{ Lance Errington
Sir William Vavasor	{ Henry Errington
Sir Edward Ratcliff	{ John Jones of <i>Dingestow</i>
Esqrs. Thomas Clifton	{ John Weston
Peter Gifford of <i>Chillington</i>	{ Phil. Hungate
Walter Fowler of <i>St. Thomas</i>	{ Gents. Robert Dolman
Thomas Brook of <i>Madely</i>	{ Richard Massey
Francis Biddulph of <i>Biddulph</i>	{ George Smith
William Middleton of <i>Stocton</i>	{ Ralph Pudsey.
Nicholas Errington	{

More catholics, whose estates were sold by another rump act, made Nov. 18, 1652.

Henry lord Arundel of <i>Wardor</i> , who raised a regt. of horse for the king and whose castle of <i>Wardor</i> was so gallantly defended against E. Hungerford	{ William Houghton
Henry lord Morley & Monteagle	{ William Hesketh
William lord Ewre	{ William Latham
William lord Powis, who kept long his castle of <i>Powis</i> against the enemy, & afterwards was taken in it; and thereupon was kept a great while prisoner at <i>Stafford</i> and died in durance at <i>London</i>	{ Thomas Singleton
Charles lord Somerset	{ John Westby
Sirs. Walter Blount, long a prisoner in the Tower	{ Sir Edward Charlton
Edw. Widdrington, who raised a regiment of horse	{ Esqrs. William Sheldon of <i>Beely</i>
Richard Tichburn	{ William Gage, of <i>Bently</i>
C. Bount (slain also by one of his own captains)	{ Thomas Clavering
J. Clavering, died prisoner at <i>Lond.</i>	{ John Plumpton
John Cansfield	{ Marmaduke Holby
John Thimbelby of <i>Irnham</i>	{ Henry Englefield
Philip Constable	{ Robert Wigmore
Edward Plumpton	{ Robert Cramblington
N. Thornton, who raised a troop of horse at his own charge	{ William Sherburn
Esqrs. Hugh Anderton of <i>Exton</i>	{ John Constable
Thomas Langtree of <i>Langtree</i>	{ Richard Latham
	{ William Bawd
	{ James Anderton of <i>Birchley</i>
	{ Thomas Singleton
	{ John Talbot
	{ Nicholas Fitzakerley
	{ John Piercy
	{ Thomas Acton of <i>Burton</i>
	{ Thomas Gillibrand
	{ Thomas Grimshaw
	{ Ralph Rishton & Wil. Floyer, gent
	{ Richard Chorley of <i>Chorley</i>
	{ James Anderton of <i>Cleyton</i> Esq.
	{ William Anderton of <i>Anderton</i> , Esq. with many others.

189. * *Peter Wright, Priest, S. J.—1651.*

PETER Wright was born of poor but virtuous parents, at Slipton in Northamptonshire. His father dying when he was very young, the circumstances of his mother, left with a great family of children, obliged him to seek his bread in service. He had for his master a country lawyer, with whom he lived several years; and being young, and amongst protestants, quickly forgot the pious admonitions of his dying parent, and lost his religion. However, he was by degrees reclaimed, after he came to man's estate; and going abroad, was fully reconciled by the English fathers of the society in their college in Liege, to which providence had brought him, whilst he was designing a pilgrimage to Rome. From Liege he was sent to Ghent, recommended by father Rector to the English catholics there, and for two years diligently applied himself to his humanity studies, in the college of the Flemish jesuits; till in the year 1629, he was pitched upon by the English fathers, to be one of the number who were to be sent that year from St. Omer's, to the seminary of Rome. But Mr. Wright petitioned, that he might rather be admitted into the society; and was accordingly received to the noviceship at Watten; where, in the two years of his stay, he gained that perfect mastery over his passions, that whereas by nature he was hasty and passionate, from that time he was remarkably calm and sedate. It was also noted, that he took great pleasure, as well here at Watten, as afterwards during the course of his studies at Liege, in making excursions into the neighbouring villages, and catechizing the children.

Having finished his divinity studies, and his third year's noviceship in the Tertian house at Ghent, he was made prefect over the scholars in the college of St. Omer's; though nothing could suit less with his inclinations, than this troublesome office, as he himself acknowledged; but he made a sacrifice of his own will to the will of God, notified to him by his superiors; and that he might the more perfectly overcome this repugnancy of nature, after having prostrated himself to God in prayer, he went to the rector of the college, and generously offered to continue prefect, if superiors thought proper, during the whole remainder of his life. But not long after, his provincial destined him to an employment, not less laborious indeed, but much more agreeable to his zeal, viz. to a mission amongst the English soldiers; where he behaved in such manner, as to gain the esteem and affection of all, and to reclaim great numbers of them from their errors and vices. He was particularly dear to sir Henry Gage their colonel, who after their first acquaintance, would not part with him, but had him for an inseparable companion for seven years, partly in Flanders, and partly in England; till sir Henry (who was governor of Oxford for the king) being killed in the civil wars, in 1644, the marquiss of Winchester, and his lady, desired to have father Wright in their family, with whom he lived till his apprehension, which was on candelmas day, 1650-1.

* From his life printed at Antwerp, the very year he suffered. By an eyewitness of his death.

As the privileges of the peers were not regarded in those times of confusion, the priest-catchers watched their opportunity of rushing into the marquis's house, on candlemas day in the morning, at the very time that father Wright was going to mass, and had not the marquis stopped them for a while upon the stairs, they would have seized the good man in the chapel, if not at the altar itself. But this delay gave him an opportunity of getting out of the window upon the leads; where, nevertheless, he could not be long concealed; for the pursuivants finding, upon their coming into the oratory, the altar dressed, and all things ready laid out for mass, concluded the priest could not be far off; and perceiving the window open, imagined he had gone out that way, and found it to be so, by sending a boy the same way, who discovered the father upon the leads.— Thus he fell into their hands, and was carried before the lord chief justice Roles, and by him committed to Newgate as a suspected priest, where he had for companions, besides two priests that lay under sentence of death, five others lately apprehended upon the same suspicion; and amongst them, the reverend Mr. Cheney, a priest of the secular clergy, who was his bed-fellow, and has given an edifying account of father Wright's behaviour in prison, extant in his printed life.

In the first sessions after the apprehension of our confessor, he was not called to the bar; and two of his companions who were tried, viz. Mr. Baker and Mr. Cheney, were brought in *not guilty* by their jury, which gave the catholics great hopes, that father Wright would be set at liberty, without being brought to his trial; and very industrious they were to procure his discharge; but when the following sessions were coming on, they began to apprehend, that those who were in power had other designs; for it was then given out, that the lord chief justice had sent into the country for the apostate Thomas Gage, to come up, and appear as witness against father Wright, and father Dade, superior of the English dominicans, at that time also prisoner in Newgate. To divert this blow, the reverend Mr. George Gage, an eminent clergyman, used his best endeavours to prevail on the apostate, who was his brother, not to involve himself in any further guilt, by having a hand in the blood of the innocent. He promised he would not, and, as to father Dade, was as good as his word; for though he appeared in court against him, and testified, that he knew him to be superior of the dominicans, yet he qualified this testimony, by adding, that though he was their superior, possibly he might not be priest; upon which father Dade was acquitted by the jury. But as to father Wright, the wretch notoriously broke his promise, and swore, that he knew him to be a priest and a jesuit, and had often seen him say mass; alledging, for the reason of his appearing against him, an old grudge that he had against the father, for having done him an ill office, as he pretended, with his elder brother Sir Henry Gage.

The good man being asked by the lord chief justice, what he had to reply to this testimony, and those of the other witnesses, Mayo, Wadsworth, &c.? would make no other answer than this: *My lord, I give Almighty God thanks, from the bottom of my heart, that he has been pleased I should be here arraigned, (to use the words of St. Peter)*

not as a murtherer, nor as a thief, nor as a reviler, nor as guilty of any other crime, but my religion; even the catholic religion, which was, is, and ever will be illustrious over all the earth; and I have nothing more to say. The judge told him, it was not for religion he was arraigned, but for returning into England after having received the order of priesthood, and seducing the people. Father Wright replied, that the persecutors of old might, with as good a grace, have objected to the apostles and the primitive priests, their coming into heathen countries and preaching the faith, contrary to the laws of those countries, and have called it treason and seducing the people. But they preached the gospel, said the judge, you preach errors contrary to the gospel. That is the very point in question, said father Wright, adding at the same time, that all manner of errors and heresies were tolerated in England, and none persecuted but the catholic religion, which was a sign of its being God's truth.

The jury going out to consult about their verdict, after some deliberation, returned him guilty; upon which the confessor made a low reverence, with a serene and chearful countenance, and said aloud, *God Almighty's holy name be blessed now, and for evermore.* The next day, being Whitsun-eve, he received the sentence of death, to his own great comfort, but to the great affliction of his friends and penitents, who saw themselves now like to be deprived of so zealous and virtuous a pastor. No endeavours were neglected to save his life, or at least to obtain a reprieve for him, by the means of the Spanish ambassador, and others; but nothing could be obtained; the less, because it being the Whitsun holidays, neither council nor parliament met. In the mean time, great was the concourse of catholics of all ranks to the prison, from morning till night, to see the servant of God; many desired to make their confessions to him; others begged some little thing, which they might keep in memory of him; all were edified with his words and comportment, and departed with his blessing, finding a certain spiritual joy in their souls, from having seen and spoken with him. As for his own part, he prepared himself for his exit by a general confession of all his life to Mr. Cheney, and waited for death with so much unconcernedness, that as the same gentleman took notice, the two last nights of his life he slept far more quietly than ordinary, and so sound, that it was not without difficulty they awaked him at the appointed hour of five o'clock, when he arose, the last morning, to celebrate the sacred mysteries; and he declared in confidence to a priest of the society sent to him by the provincial, that he never in all his life had experienced so much joy as he then found in his soul at the approach of his dissolution.

Whitsun-Monday in the morning, he celebrated mass, with the assistance of Mr. Cheney, with great devotion. And when the time was drawing near when he was to go down in order for execution, hearing the knocking at the iron grate, he took it as a summons from heaven, and cried out, *I come, sweet Jesus, I come.* Then embracing Mr. Cheney, *Farewell,* said he, *my chamberfellow, and bedfellow, before it is long we shall see one another again in heaven.*

When he was called out to the hurdle, he went with so much alacrity and speed, that the officers could scarce keep pace with him; and here turning to Mr. Cheney, *Upon this bed*, says he, *I shall lie alone, as you also henceforward will have your bed to yourself.* Then being placed on the hurdle, he made a short act of contrition; and in the midst of mutual embraces, was absolved by Mr. Cheney, and then drawn away to Tyburn, through the streets crowded with an innumerable multitude of people. My author writes, that he himself was eye-witness of this last procession of father Wright, who was drawn on the hurdle more like one sitting than lying down; his head was covered, his countenance smiling, a certain air of majesty, and a courage and cheerfulness in his comportment, which was both surprising and edifying, not only to the catholics who crowded to ask his benediction, but to the protestants themselves, as many of them publicly declared. He adds, that when the hurdle came over against the house where the marquis of Winchester, with his lady, children, and other catholics of distinction, were waiting to see him from a balcony, he lifted himself up as much as his pinions would permit, and making the sign of the cross, gave them his last blessing, which they all received with their heads bowed down.

The number of people that met at Tyburn, to be spectators of the triumph of this confessor of Christ, was computed to have been no less than 20,000, and amongst them near 200 coaches, and 500 horsemen. Thirteen malefactors were appointed to die with him, to whom the father endeavoured to give seasonable advice for the welfare of their souls, but was continually interrupted by the minister, and therefore desisted, betaking himself to silent prayer, in which he employed about an hour, standing with his eyes shut, his hands joined before his breast, his countenance sweet and amiable, and his whole body without motion, as one in deep contemplation. The minister took occasion to tell him, it was not yet too late, that he might save his life, if he would renounce the errors of popery: but father Wright generously answered him, *if he had a thousand lives, he would most willingly give them all up in defence of the catholic religion.*

The hangman having fitted the rope to his neck, the confessor made a short speech to the spectators in these or the like words: ‘Gentlemen this is a short passage to eternity; my time is now short, and I have not much to speak. I was brought hither, charged with no other crime, but being a priest. I willingly confess I am a priest, I confess I am a catholic, I confess I am a religious man of the society of Jesus, or, as you call it, a jesuit. This is the cause for which I die: for this alone was I condemned; and for propagating the catholic faith, which is spread through the whole world, taught through all ages from Christ’s time, and will be taught for all ages to come. For this cause I most willingly sacrifice my life, and would die a thousand times for the same, if it were necessary; and I look upon it my greatest happiness, that my most good God has chosen me most unworthy to this blessed lot, the lot of the saints. This is a grace which so unworthy a sinner could scarce have wished, much less hoped for. And now I beg of the goodness of my God,

‘with all the fervour I am able, and most humbly entreat him, that he would drive from you that are protestants the darkness of error, and enlighten your minds with the rays of truth. And as for you catholics, my fellow-soldiers and comrades, as many of you as are here, I earnestly beseech you to join in prayer for me and with me, till my last moment; and when I shall come to heaven, I will do as much for you. God bless you all: I forgive all men. From my heart I bid you all farewell, till we meet in a happy eternity.’ Having spoken to this effect, he again recollected himself a while in prayer, and then the cart was drawn away, and he was suffered to hang till he quietly expired. His dead body was cut down, beheaded, bowelled, and quartered. His friends were permitted to carry off his head and quarters, which were translated to Liege, and there honourably deposited in the college of the English jesuits. He suffered the 19th of May, 1651, *ætatis* 48, *societatis* 22.

As father Wright’s comportment in this last stage of life, was admired by the generality of the protestants that were spectators of his death, so it gave occasion to several conversions, a thing very usual on the like occasions.

1654.—From the year 1651, till the year 1654, I find no mention of any priests put to death for their character and religion; but in the year 1654, being the first of the usurpation of Cromwell, Mr. John Southworth was drawn to Tyburn, to suffer for his conscience, of whom we shall now treat.

190. * *John Southworth, Priest.*

JOHN Southworth was born in Lancashire, in the year 1592, being a younger son of the ancient family of the Southworth of Salmesbury, formerly possessed of a considerable estate, but which, ever since the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, has been in a declining condition. He was sent for his education to the English college of Douay, and was an alumnus and priest of that house, from whence he was sent upon the English mission the 13th of October, anno 1619. The first seat of his missionary labours, was his native country of Lancashire; where, after some years employed in his functions, he was apprehended, brought upon his trial, and condemned, for being a priest, in 1627. However, he did not suffer at this time, but was reprieved, and continued a close prisoner in Lancaster castle, where in the following year, as we have seen elsewhere, he was the man that gave the last absolution to father Arrowsmith, when he was going to martyrdom.

From Lancaster castle he was, I believe, removed to London, and committed to the Clink, for there I find him in April 1630; when, as Mr. Prynne complains “in his *Royal Popish Favourite*, pag. 18, 19.” he was, at the instance of the queen, released with 15 other priests,

* From Mr. Knaresborough’s collections, and other memoirs in my hands, and from a manuscript sent me from the English college of St. Omer’s.

and delivered to the marquis de Chasteauneuf the French ambassador, to be transported beyond the seas. If ever he went abroad, as the author above quoted seems to question, he quickly returned again to his master's work, and laboured so diligently therein, that he is complimented by Mr. Prynne, pag. 24. with the title of a *dangerous seducer*; who also informs us, 'that he was afterwards committed again to the Clink prison, by the lords of the privy council's warrant; and yet for all that, had liberty to walk abroad at his pleasure (as most priests, says this author, during their imprisonment had, the more safely to seduce, as he calls it, his majesty's good subjects, and open masses in their prisons to boot) whereupon being apprehended, and brought before some of the high commissioners, and refusing to give bond to appear before them, he was sent to the Clink by their warrant under the seal of the court, dated June 24, 1640, (to which they found him to be formerly committed by the lords, and to be then a vagrant prisoner) to be there detained under the keeper's custody, &c. But within few days after, he was absolutely released by secretary Windebank's warrant.' So Mr. Prynne.

Who goes on in the following page: 'How dangerous a seducer this Southworth, alias Southwell, was, appears by this petition of Robert White, sub-curate of St. Margaret's Westminster, to the archbishop of Canterbury against him, in the last great sickness, 1636, which

'Most humbly sheweth, that the petitioner, ever since the beginning of this grievous visitation in Westminster, &c. hath observed two popish priests to frequent Westminster, one of which is called Southwell, "Southworth" who is, and long hath been a prisoner in the Gatehouse, but lives about Clerkenwell. This man, under pretence of distributing alms, sent from some of the priests in Somerset-house, or other papists, doth take occasion to go into divers visited houses in Westminster; and namely, to the houses of one William Baldwin, and William Stiles, in the Kemp-yard in Westminster, and there finding Baldwin near the point of death, did set upon him by all means to make him change his religion; whereunto, by his subtle persuasions, Baldwin easily consented, and received the sacrament from him according to the church of Rome, and so died a Romish catholic. And in the same manner he also perverted William Stiles, who also died a Romish catholic. And Southwell, to colour and hide these wicked practices, doth fee the watchmen, and other poor people thereabouts, &c. And thus, under a pretence of relieving the bodies of poor people, he poisons their souls.'

The petitioner adds, 'that divers poor people, newly turned Romish catholics, do commonly frequent the mass at Denmark-house; and three of those poor people watched all night with William Stiles immediately before he died, and the next day went thither to mass. A most wicked course, says he, if it should not be remedied.'

'Upon this, Southwell soon after was apprehended, indicted, arraigned, and the premises fully proved against him by sundry witnesses; and yet by the queen's and Windebank's powerful means,

‘ his final trial was put off, to the great discontent of the people, and
‘ he not long after released.’ So far Mr. Prynne, pag. 25.

Any other particulars relating to Mr. Southworth’s missionary labours, I have not been able to find, for want of proper memoirs ; or any more of him, till his final apprehension in 1654, when ‘ upon
‘ information of one Jefferies, a pursuivant, says my St. Omer’s MS.
‘ whom he had in fee, he was taken out of bed at night by Colonel
‘ Worsley, and upon his own confession of having exercised his func-
‘ tions since his reprieve, he was condemned, and dragged to Tyburn
‘ upon a sledge, placed between two coiners,’ &c.

As to what passed at his trial, the only account that I have been able to find, is penned by a protestant, (who appears to have been a moderate dissenter) in a pamphlet, intitled, *a letter from a gentleman in the city to a gentleman in the country, about the odiousness of persecution*, printed in 1687, page 27. ‘ The last popish priest, says this author, that was
‘ put to death in England, for being a priest of the Romish church,
‘ was put to death in the time of Cromwell. I suppose we are not to
‘ doubt of the passionate heat which inflamed those who were then in
‘ authority against the papists and popery. They looked upon the
‘ papists as mortal enemies to their government, and as fast friends and
‘ devoted servants to the crown and royal family. Notwithstanding
‘ which, when the said priest came upon his trial at the sessions house
‘ in the Old Bailey, and upon his arraignment pleaded that he was not
‘ guilty of treason, but acknowledging himself a priest of the Roman
‘ church ; it clearly appeared, that those who were his judges, did
‘ their utmost to preserve his life, and to prevent the execution against
‘ him of those laws, upon which he stood indicted ; for they did for
‘ many hours suspend the recording of his confession, making it their
‘ endeavour to prevail with him to plead not guilty to the indictment.
‘ They pressed him to this in the public court, assuring him, that if he
‘ would so plead, his life should be safe ; and that they had no evidence,
‘ which could prove him to be a priest. And when the old man “ aged
‘ about 72 ” would not be drawn to deny himself to be a priest,
‘ taking it to be a denying of his religion, and that the court was
‘ compelled to give judgment against him, the magistrate who gave
‘ the sentence, “ serjeant Steel, recorder of London ” was so drowned
‘ in tears upon that sad occasion, that it was long before he could
‘ pronounce the sentence, which the law compelled, as he professed,
‘ to give.’ So far this writer of Mr. Southworth’s trial and condemna-
tion.

As to his execution, he was drawn to Tyburn on the 28th of June, 1654. What happened upon this occasion, take here from an eye-witness, in a letter dated the thirtieth of the same month.

‘ As I arrived here I was invited to be a spectator of the martyrdom
‘ of Mr. Southworth, an ancient secular priest. He had formerly been
‘ condemned and reprieved in Lancashire, &c. At his execution,
‘ though it was a stormy and rainy day, there came thousands of peo-
‘ ple, with a great number of coaches and horsemen. He made a
‘ speech at the gallows, which I send you with these, according to a
‘ copy I had from one of the same profession, who stood under the

‘gallows. The large particulars I have not as yet, nor seek to send,
 ‘on confidence you will have them from better hands. Priests fly
 ‘hence apace, as presaging a greater storm. There are others in
 ‘hold, and search made after more. All are in fears and suspense,
 ‘not knowing where to dispose themselves, the times are so hard.
 ‘There is now another priest brought from Newcastle, taken at mass,
 ‘with the man of the house; who may the next sessions expect their
 ‘doom. There were five coiners hanged, drawn, and quartered with
 ‘Mr. Southworth. He was cloathed in a priest’s gown, and had a
 ‘four-cornered cap.’ His speech was as follows:

Mr. Southworth’s speech at Tyburn.

‘Good people, I was born in Lancashire. This is the third time I
 ‘have been apprehended, and now being to die, I would gladly witness
 ‘and profess openly my faith, for which I suffer. And though my
 ‘time be short, yet what I shall be deficient in words, I hope I shall
 ‘supply with my blood, which I will most willingly spend to the last
 ‘drop for my faith. Neither my intent in coming into England, nor
 ‘practice in England, was to act any thing against the secular
 ‘government. Hither I was sent by my lawful superiors to teach
 ‘Christ’s faith, not to meddle with any temporal affairs. Christ sent
 ‘his apostles; his apostles their successors; and their successors me.
 ‘I did what I was commanded by them, who had power to command
 ‘me, being ever taught that I ought to obey them in matters ecclesi-
 ‘astical, and my temporal governors in business only temporal. I
 ‘never acted nor thought any hurt against the present protector. I
 ‘had only a care to do my own obligation, and discharge my own
 ‘duty in saving my own and other men’s souls. This, and only this,
 ‘according to my poor abilities, I laboured to perform. I had com-
 ‘mission to do it from him, to whom our Saviour, in his predecessor
 ‘St. Peter, gave power to send others to propagate his faith. This is
 ‘that for which I die, O holy cause! and not for any treason against
 ‘the laws. My faith and obedience to my superiors is all the treason
 ‘charged against me: nay I die for Christ’s law, which no human
 ‘law, by whomsoever made, ought to withstand or contradict. This
 ‘law of Christ commanded me to obey these superiors, and this
 ‘church, saying, whoever hears them hears himself. This church,
 ‘these superiors of it I obeyed, and for obeying, die. I was brought
 ‘up in the truly ancient Roman catholic apostolic religion, which
 ‘taught me, that the sum of the only true christian profession is to
 ‘die. This lesson I have heretofore in my life-time desired to learn;
 ‘this lesson I come here to put in practice by dying, being taught it
 ‘by our blessed Saviour, both by precept and example. Himself said,
 ‘*He that will be my disciple, let him take up his cross and follow me.*
 ‘Himself exemplary practised what he had recommended to others.
 ‘To follow his holy doctrine, and imitate his holy death, I willingly
 ‘suffer at present; this gallows “looking up” I look on as his cross,
 ‘which I gladly take to follow my dear Saviour. My faith is my
 ‘crime, the performance of my duty the occasion of my condemna-
 ‘tion. I confess I am a great sinner; against God I have offended,
 ‘but am innocent of any sin against man; I mean, the commonwealth

‘ and present government. How justly then I die, let them look to
 ‘ who have condemned me. It is sufficient for me that it is God’s
 ‘ will: I plead not for myself (I came hither to suffer) but for you
 ‘ poor persecuted catholics, whom I leave behind me. Heretofore
 ‘ liberty of conscience was pretended as a cause of war; and it was
 ‘ held a reasonable proposition that all the natives should enjoy it, who
 ‘ should be found to behave themselves as obedient and true subjects.
 ‘ This being so, why should their conscientious acting and governing
 ‘ themselves according to the faith received from their ancestors, in-
 ‘ volve them more than all the rest in an universal guilt? which con-
 ‘ scientiousness is the very reason that clears others, and renders them
 ‘ innocent. It has pleased God to take the sword out of the king’s
 ‘ hand, and put it in the protector’s. Let him remember that he is
 ‘ to administer justice indifferently, and without exception of persons.
 ‘ For there is no exception of persons with God, whom we ought to
 ‘ resemble. If any catholics work against the present government,
 ‘ let them suffer; but why should all the rest who are guiltless (unless
 ‘ conscience be their guilt) be made partakers in a promiscuous pu-
 ‘ nishment with the greatest malefactors? The first rebellion was of
 ‘ the angels; the guilty were cast into hell, the innocent remained
 ‘ partakers of the heavenly blessings.

‘ Here being interrupted by some officers desiring him to make
 ‘ haste, he requested all present, that were catholics, to pray for
 ‘ him and with him. Which done, with hands raised up to heaven,
 ‘ and eyes (after a short prayer in silence) gently shut, thus devoutly
 ‘ demeaned, he expected the time of his execution, which immedi-
 ‘ ately followed, and which he suffered with an unmoved quietness,
 ‘ delivering his soul most blessedly into the hands of his most loving
 ‘ God, who died for him, and for whose sake he died.’

The following Latin epigram was made by a min—r on the death
 of this gentleman.

‘ Relligio in varias serpit (modo mobilis) hydras,
 ‘ Dum colit idolum quisque deumque suum.
 ‘ Nullus ibi Deus est, ubi multitudo deorum;
 ‘ Relligio variâ religione perit.
 ‘ Martyr erat, vindex quia relligionis avitæ,
 ‘ Unica quæ nobis ducta per æva fuit.
 ‘ * Huic Deus afflavit, sonuitque tonitribus aër,
 ‘ Fulgure martyrium testificante suum.
 ‘ In pluviam versus lachrimarum est imber obortus,
 ‘ Athleta ut maneat fortis agone suo.
 ‘ † Claviger ingressum cœlis dabat almus apertis,
 ‘ Quippe fide & feriis gestit obisse suis.

N. B. Mr. Southworth’s body was sent over to the English college
 of Douay, by one of the illustrious family of the Howards of Norfolk;
 and deposited in the church near St. Augustin’s altar. In requital of
 which, as I find attested in the records of the house, God was pleased
 by the prayers and relics of this martyr, in the year 1656, wonder-

* It thundered, lightened, & rained very much as the good man was going to Tyburn.

† He suffered death on the eve of St. Peter and Paul.

fully to recal from the very gates of death the honourable Francis Howard of Norfolk, fifth son to Henry Earl of Arundel, and brother to Thomas and Henry, successively dukes of Norfolk, when absolutely despaired of by all the physicians, and having all the symptoms of a dying man.

Oates's Plot.

In the year 1660, king Charles the second was restored, being the 12th year after the execrable murder of his royal father. Under his government the catholics had reason to look for better times; considering the services they had done both his father and himself; neither was this prince in his own inclinations any ways averse from their religion, since it is very well known he died in the profession of it. Yet such was his indolence (being attentive to little else but his pleasures) and such the temper of the parliament and people, worked up at that time to a vehement hatred both of the religion and the persons of catholics (in order to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown) that this king gave way to one of the most violent persecutions that ever the catholics of England have undergone, from the beginning of the change of religion to this day.

This persecution was set on foot in the year 1678 (for before that time the catholics were tolerably easy) upon occasion of what is commonly called Oates's plot, a pretended conspiracy of catholics for killing the king, subverting the government, and rooting out the protestant religion; a plot, which though at that time it gained a general belief throughout the kingdom, is now allowed by all unprejudiced sober men to have been as villainous and malicious a forgery as ever was set on foot. In proof of which the reader may consult several tracts of Sir Robert l'Estrange, and some of the best protestant historians, such as Mr. Eachard, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Higgons, the continuator of Sir Rich. Baker's Chronicle, &c. So that catholics have reason to rank those that suffered on this occasion amongst the martyrs of religion; since in reality the true cause of their death was not any plot, but their constancy in the profession of their religion, and the public hatred to which they were exposed on that account.

But this persecution did not only involve those that were accused of the plot, it took in also all the catholics in general; the prisons throughout the kingdom were quickly filled with them; and the sanguinary laws of queen Elizabeth against priests were put in execution with so much rigour, that I find no less than eight priests put to death merely for their character, in different parts of the country, in less than six weeks time, besides divers others condemned on the same score.

It was on the 13th of August 1678, that Dr. Tongue (who is supposed to have had the chief hand in the contrivance of this pretended plot) gave in his first information to the king; and not long after Titus Oates was produced by the doctor as his informer; 'a person, says the protestant historian "continuator of Baker, p. 687." who had been dignified with holy orders, though very unworthy of that sacred function. He was sent for to the council, and there swore to the truth of the papers delivered by Tongue, with a great many

other matters therein contained.—The sum of what he then swore was, that he had been privy to many consultations and discourses of the jesuits, about killing the king. That at one time they designed to shoot him, which was to be done by two men, whose names were Grove and Pickering. That afterwards it was thought better to do it by poison; and this was to be done by Sir George Wakeman, a papist and physician to the queen. He said also that many jesuits had disguised themselves, and gone into Scotland among the field conventiclers, to distract the government there. That he himself was sent first to St. Omer's, then to Paris, and afterwards into Spain, to negociate this design. That upon his return with many letters and directions from beyond sea to the jesuits here in England, there was a great consult held by them in different rooms in a tavern behind St. Clement's church, in which he was employed to carry the resolution from room to room, and so to hand them round. That at that time a fixed resolution was taken to kill the king in one or other of the ways above-mentioned, &c. These things were sworn by him the first day he appeared before the council. Upon this he was sent that very night with a guard, to seize upon the jesuits and their papers. And for two or three days after he was almost perpetually employed, night and day, either in apprehending persons he had sworn against, or in attending the council. This fatigue he made use of afterwards for an excuse to palliate several gross inconsistencies that appeared in the evidence delivered by him at different times. Upon his oath there were apprehended Sir George Wakeman above-mentioned, Mr. Edward Coleman, secretary to the duchess of York, Mr. Richard Langhorn, an eminent counsellor at law, all papists and laymen; Thomas Whitebread, John Gavan, Anthony Turner, William Ireland, William Marshall, William Rumley, James Corker, and Thomas Pickering, jesuits and monks, who were accused by him of being actors in, or privy to the plot.

That this plot, continues the protestant historian, as sworn to by Oates, was a wicked forgery and imposture, is, I believe, little doubted at present by thinking unprejudiced men. The character of the informer is no small diminution of its credit: for though he had worn the habit of a clergyman, he was a fellow of a most infamous life. He had been once presented for perjury. He had been made a chaplain in one of the king's ships, but was dismissed upon a complaint of some unnatural practices not fit to be named. He afterwards procured a qualification to be chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, and that duke being a Roman catholic, Oates expressed soon after an inclination to the popish religion, not from any motive of conscience, but thinking probably to reap some small advantage by that vile condescension. But he found himself disappointed; for he quickly perceived he had lost all hopes from the church of England, to starve in that of Rome. At last he was sent to the English seminary of jesuits at St. Omer's, where he was treated with great contempt. From St. Omer's he had been sent through France into Spain, and from thence returned to England, where he soon after broached the plot. Whether in this he were animated by a spirit of revenge, for the ill usage he had received from the jesuits, or by

‘ hopes of reward for the discovery, or whether he was an instrument
‘ of others to swear what was prepared for him, has been variously
‘ thought, but must remain a doubt till the great day, when all secrets
‘ shall be revealed.

‘ That there has been, continues the historian, p. 688, and ever
‘ will be a popish plot for the restoring that religion amongst us, will
‘ be easily believed by such as know the restless temper of the church
‘ and court of Rome. But that they should design to compass this by
‘ killing the king, or by the violent methods sworn to by Oates and
‘ his associates, appears incredible from the palpable falsehoods and
‘ inconsistencies in their evidence.’

As to the other chief witnesses of the plot, viz. William Bedloe, the historian, p. 690. gives his character in the following lines.
‘ Soon after this, Oates’s discovery was confirmed by a new evidence
‘ perfectly suited to the old one. His name was William Bedloe, a
‘ person who had gone through many various circumstances of life,
‘ and had been very infamous in every one of them. He was thorough-
‘ ly possessed of all those qualifications that go to the compleating of
‘ an eminent rogue. He was of a base birth and mean parentage, so
‘ that little care being taken of his education, or of any provision for
‘ him, he was forced to make his way in the world by himself. He
‘ might have done this in an honest way, being not without capacity.
‘ But a natural certain bent towards wickedness, which is found in
‘ some dispositions, made him choose a contrary course. He was
‘ first a poor foot boy, or runner on errands; and afterwards got into
‘ a livery in the family of the lord Bellasis. After this he turned a
‘ kind of post or letter carrier beyond sea, in which condition he got
‘ acquainted with the names and concerns of people of fashion. He
‘ made use of this to put in practice a hundred rogueries, being of
‘ a bold and daring temper, with a good turn of wit and address.
‘ Thus he run through all the arts and methods of sharpening, going un-
‘ der false names, and borrowing money, or other valuable things
‘ by forged recommendations, or by personating men of figure. He
‘ travelled over France and Spain under the character of a person of
‘ quality, robbing and cheating wherever he went. In the course of
‘ this sort of life he had been put into several prisons, &c. He was
‘ just got out of prison, where he was fed out of the alms-basket,
‘ when the reward and encouragement were offered to the discoverers
‘ of Godfrey’s murder. Upon this he went from London to Bristol,
‘ and in the way thither sent a letter to secretary Coventry, with a
‘ desire that he might be seized at Bristol. This was done accord-
‘ ingly with great noise, that he might be looked on as a great disco-
‘ verer. November the 5th he was sent to London, where he was
‘ dubbed a captain, and the king’s evidence; and, like Oates before
‘ him, had guards and subsistence at the king’s charge at Whitehall.
‘ When he was examined before the secretary of state in the king’s
‘ presence, he said he had seen Godfrey’s body at Somerset-house, and
‘ that a servant of lord Bellasis offered him 4000*l.* to assist in carrying
‘ it away. That upon this he went out of town to Bristol, but that
‘ his conscience so haunted him, that it forced him to discover it.

' Being asked if he knew any thing of the plot, he denied it upon oath.
 ' He said indeed that he had heard of 40,000 men to be sent from
 ' Spain, who were to meet as pilgrims at St. Jago's, and to be shipped
 ' from thence to England, which was all he knew. This was a strange
 ' story: forty thousand pilgrims was an army in disguise, never
 ' heard of but in Bedloe's evidence, and the comedy of the Rehear-
 ' sal. And he could not give any account of the fleet that was to
 ' transport such extraordinary invaders. But it plainly appeared he
 ' had been better instructed before the next day: for being then
 ' brought before the house of lords, he abounded in discoveries; and
 ' accused lord Bellasis, lord Powis, lord Arundel of Wardor, and
 ' Coleman, of a design to kill the king; and told the house he had
 ' begun to put a narrative of the plot in writing, and desired time to
 ' finish it. When he was asked whether he knew Titus Oates, he pos-
 ' sitively denied it; but afterwards he brought himself off by saying,
 ' he knew him only by the name of Ambrose.

Four days after, his discoveries were much enlarged. He said
 ' forty thousand men were to be ready in London. - That ten thousand
 ' men were to be sent from Flanders, besides the pilgrims of St. Jago's
 ' in Spain. That Hull was to be surprized just at the critical time
 ' the plot was discovered. That he was told that all the Roman
 ' catholics of any figure in England were acquainted with this plot,
 ' with many other particulars too long and trivial to be enumerated.
 ' There cannot be a more surprizing example of the force of universal
 ' prejudice, than that such an evidence should gain attention, much
 ' more belief, among so many wise men that heard it. How could it
 ' be thought that forty thousand effective men should be ready in Lon-
 ' don for such a design, when probably there is not that number of
 ' papists to be found throughout the city, though we take in women
 ' and children? &c.

' The parliament believed all these strange stories; and the king
 ' was forced to drive with the tide, and appear as zealous as they.
 ' Through the course of this month nothing was heard of but addresses
 ' and proclamations against papists. And on the 30th of November
 ' the king came and passed the bill for disabling papists from sitting in
 ' either house of parliament.' So far the historian, p. 691.

Who adds in the same place, the following account of Mr. Staley,
 condemned and executed about this time, though not properly for the
 plot.

' The next remarkable occurrence, says he, was the trial of Mr.
 ' William Staley, a popish banker, for treasonable words. One Car-
 ' stairs, a Scotchman, a man of a very ill character, happened to be
 ' in an eating-house in Covent-Garden, where Staley was at dinner in
 ' the next room to him. Carstairs pretended he heard him say in
 ' French, that the king was a rogue, and persecuted the people of
 ' God, and that he would stab him, if nobody else would. These
 ' words he wrote down, and went next morning to Staley, telling him
 ' he would swear these words against him, and demanded a sum of
 ' money of him. Staley was much perplexed; he saw the danger of
 ' such an accusation at such a time; but he was under difficulties, and

* refused to part with the money. So he was apprehended, and five
 * days after tried and cast. The evidence against him was positive ;
 * and being strangers he did not know their character. He could only
 * urge how improbable it was, he should say such things in a public
 * room, and that in a part of the town where French was so well under-
 * stood. He was asked, while under condemnation, whether he knew
 * any thing of the plot ? but he denied it, as also the words sworn against
 * him. He was executed at Tyburn, where he behaved himself very
 * decently.' His trial was succeeded by that of Mr. Edward Coleman,
 of whom we shall now treat.

191. * *Edward Coleman, Gentleman.*—1678.

EDWARD Coleman was a minister's son, born in Suffolk, and educated
 in the university of Cambridge, who afterwards became a zealous con-
 vert to the catholic faith. ' This gentleman, says the continuator of
 ' Baker, was secretary to the dutchess of York, a great bigot in his re-
 ' ligion, and of a busy head. This engaged him in many projects for
 ' the restoring of popery here, or at least procuring a liberty of conscience
 ' for those of that profession. He had been engaged in a correspondence
 ' with P. Le Chaise, the French king's confessor, since the year 1674 ;
 ' in the course of which, he was continually entertaining him with
 ' schemes and projects for advancing the interest of the French king,
 ' and the church of Rome.' These letters being seized, were produced
 at his trial, which came on at the Old Bailey, November 28, 1678.

' The evidence against him, were Oates and Bedloe, with his own
 ' papers. The two first charged him with having been privy to several
 ' consults for killing the king, and to another for raising rebellion in
 ' Ireland, and that he had received a commission " from the general of
 ' the jesuits," to be secretary of state. As to his letters, they shewed
 ' beyond contradiction, that he had been busy in projects for introducing
 ' popery ; and some warm expressions which he had let fall, were made
 ' use of to represent him as a more dangerous person than he really was.
 ' But all this had no manner of relation to the plot, there not appearing
 ' throughout all his letters, the least intention of hurting the king, or of
 ' using violence of any sort, to compass his undertakings, but much that
 ' implied the contrary.

' He pleaded this himself, when he came to make his defence. As
 ' to Oates and Bedloe, he observed, (which was very true) that when
 ' he appeared before the council, Oates did not know him. Oates ex-
 ' cused himself, by alledging the weakness of his sight, the candle-
 ' light, and Coleman's change of wig and habit ; but, he said, as soon
 ' as he heard him speak he knew him. He observed also, that when
 ' Oates first appeared before the council, he charged him only with a
 ' letter, and some matters so slight, that the council was ready to let
 ' him go at large ; whereas, had he known these things he now charged
 ' against him, that was the proper time to mention them. Oates an-

* From his printed trials and letters ; the compendium, or short view of the trials
 relating to the plot ; his dying speech ; the continuator of Baker's chronicle, p. 691,
 692, &c.

‘ swered this, by complaining of the great fatigue he had undergone for
 ‘ two days and nights before, in seizing Jesuits, &c. which (he said)
 ‘ had so exhausted his spirits, that he did not know what he said. This
 ‘ was a wretched evasion, but it went down at that time. In the third
 ‘ place he said, that whereas Oates had swore he was privy to a consult
 ‘ about the 21st of August, in London, he offered to prove that he was
 ‘ then out of town,’ “ having left London on the 15th of that month,
 without ever returning till the 31st, late at night.”

‘ As to Bedloe, he could only answer him, by solemnly protesting
 ‘ he had never seen him till then in his life ; and concluded his defence
 ‘ with an asseveration, that he had seen Oates but once before, and
 ‘ Bedloe never.’ *Baker’s Chronicle*, page 692.

‘ The chief justice, in summing up the evidence, says Mr. Salmon,
 ‘ in his examination of bishop Burnet’s history, p. 792, did not much
 ‘ insist upon the testimony Oates had given of Coleman’s design to
 ‘ kill the king ; but said, it was plain, that Coleman intended to bring
 ‘ in popery, and subvert the protestant religion, by requiring the assist-
 ‘ ance of a foreign power ; and that he who subverted the protestant re-
 ‘ ligion, by consequence brought in a foreign authority ; that this was
 ‘ acting in derogation of the crown, and in diminution of the king’s su-
 ‘ premacy, and an endeavour to bring the nation under a foreign domi-
 ‘ nion, namely, the pope’s ; and though he might hope to bring in po-
 ‘ pery, by procuring a dissolution of the parliament, and a toleration,
 ‘ it was to be supposed, other methods would have been taken, if these
 ‘ had failed, by his confederates at least, if not by himself ; and he
 ‘ who enters upon an unlawful act, is guilty of all the consequences that
 ‘ attend it, though he did not design them ; whereupon Coleman was
 ‘ convicted.

‘ The chief justice having pronounced the sentence, Coleman de-
 ‘ clared his innocence as to any design against the king’s life ; and said,
 ‘ he renounced all the mercy that God could shew him, if he had not
 ‘ discovered all he knew to the house of commons ; or if he ever made,
 ‘ or received, or heard of any proposition towards invading the king’s
 ‘ life, his crown or dignity ; or to procure any invasion or disturbance,
 ‘ in order to introduce any new form of government, or bring in popery
 ‘ by force ; and in this he persisted till he died.’ So Mr. Salmon, agree-
 ably to Mr. Coleman’s printed trial.

The continuator of *Baker’s Chronicle* adds, ‘ that before his execu-
 ‘ tion, many were sent to him from both houses, with promise of a par-
 ‘ don, if he would make discoveries ; but he either would not, or, which
 ‘ is as probable, could not make any such. So that some time after,
 ‘ “ on Tuesday the 3d of December,” he was executed, and suffered
 ‘ with great composedness and devotion, denying all that had been
 ‘ sworn against him. There went about an idle story, that he refused
 ‘ to confess upon promise of a pardon from the duke of York ; and that
 ‘ when he found his death unavoidable, he cried out in a passion, there
 ‘ is no faith in man ! But it was very plain, and he could not be igno-
 ‘ rant, that the fury of the times was such, that the king had it not in
 ‘ his power to pardon him, if he had been ever so willing.’ So far the
 protestant historian.

Mr. Coleman's last Speech.

‘ It is now expected I should speak, and make some discovery of a
 ‘ very great plot. I know not whether I shall have the good fortune to
 ‘ be believed better now than formerly ; if so, I do solemnly declare, upon
 ‘ the words of a dying man, I know nothing of it. And as for the
 ‘ raising of sedition, subverting the government, stirring up the people
 ‘ to rebellion, altering the known laws, and contriving the death of the
 ‘ king, I am wholly ignorant of it ; nor did I ever think to advance that
 ‘ religion (which people think I am so zealous of) hereby. I thank
 ‘ God I am of it, and declare I die of it ; nor do I think it prejudicial
 ‘ to king or government. But though I am, as I said, a Roman catho-
 ‘ lic, and have been so for many years, yet I renounce that doctrine,
 ‘ (which some, “ wrongfully,” say the Romish church doth usher in to
 ‘ promote their interest) that kings may be murdered, and the like ; I
 ‘ say, I abominate it.’

Here he was interrupted, and told, if he had any thing to say by way of confession, or sorrow for his guilt, he might proceed ; otherwise it was unseasonable to go on. He said, he had nothing to confess, that he had never any intention to subvert the government, or to act any thing contrary to law, but what every man of a contrary religion would do in a peaceable manner if he could. He added, that the witness who swore against him did him wrong ; and as for Bedloe, upon the word of a dying man, he never saw his face before his trial. He also declared, upon the word of a dying man, that he knew nothing of the death of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, for that he was a prisoner at that time. ‘ Then after some private prayers and ejaculations to himself, says the
 ‘ conclusion of his printed trial, the sentence was executed ; he was
 ‘ hanged by the neck, cut down alive, his bowels burnt, and himself
 ‘ quartered.’

192. * *William Ireland, Priest, S. J.*—193. *Thomas Pickering, Lay-Brother, O. S. B.*—194. *John Grove, Layman.*—1679.

WILLIAM Ireland, alias Ironmonger, was of a gentleman's family ; his uncle was killed in the king's service, and his relations, the Giffards and Pendrells, were instrumental in saving king Charles the second, after the defeat at Worcester. He was born in Lincolnshire, brought up at St. Omer's, entered the society at the age of 19, September 7, 1655 ; in which he had the character of a man of extraordinary piety and regularity, and a wonderful evenness of mind in all events. He was sent upon the English mission, *anno* 1677, and was apprehended upon the first breaking out of Oates's plot. He suffered much in prison, from the loathsomeness of the place, and the load of his chains, and was at length brought on his trial on the 17th of December, 1678, together with Thomas Pickering, a lay-brother of the order of St. Bennet, professed in the English monastery of Douay ; and John Grove, a catho-

* From a short view of the trials relating to the plot, p. 9. Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 140 : a manuscript sent me from St. Omer's, and the continuator of Baker's Chronicle, p. 693.

lic layman, employed as a servant by the English jesuits in their affairs about town.

‘ There were arraigned with them, says the continuator of Baker, p. 693, Thomas Whitebread, and John Fenwick, both jesuits. Oates and Bedloe swore against Ireland directly, that he had been present at a consult held in August for killing the king; and Oates swore the same positively against Whitebread and Fenwick. But Bedloe charged those two only by hearsay, so that for want of two positive witnesses, they must have been acquitted by the jury in course. Upon this occasion the court committed a most enormous and crying act of injustice: for when they saw these two must be cleared, they, by a quirk in law, pretended to discharge the jury of them, and put off their trial to another time, though they had pleaded to the indictment, and the jury was sworn, and the witnesses examined. They pretended indeed they had precedents for this; but, as a great man observes, precedents against reason only prove that the like injustice has been committed before. As to Pickering and Grove, Oates and Bedlow swore, that they were appointed to shoot the king; and that the latter being a layman, was to have 1500*l.* and the former who was a priest, “ a religious man,” 30,000 masses, which at a shilling a mass amounts to the same sum; that they used to walk together in St. James’s park with pistols for that purpose; that one time Pickering had an opportunity to shoot at the king, but that the flint of his pistol was loose; another time there was no powder in the pan; and again the third time, the gun was charged only with bullets, by which accidents the king’s life was saved. These diasters, one upon another, made a very unlikely story; but it was all imputed to a special providence, which solved the difficulty at once. The prisoners absolutely denied the whole, and Pickering averred, that he had never shot off a pistol in his life. Ireland brought witnesses to prove, that he was in Staffordshire at the time Oates swore he was in London. But Oates producing a woman, who said, she saw him in London about the middle of August, which was the time he swore to, this defence was overruled. So that they were found guilty, condemned, and executed; but denied stedfastly to the last moment, all that was sworn against them.’ So far the historian.

Mr. Ireland, after his condemnation, being carried back to Newgate, wrote there a journal, which shewed where he was every day, and who saw him from the third of August to the 14th of September, being the time of his absence from London. The chief places were Tixhal, Holywell, Wolverhampton, and Boscobel; the persons that saw him were of great quality, as my lord Aston and his family; sir John Southcot and his family; madam Harwel, and hers; several of the Giffords of Chillington; several of sir John Windford’s relations; madam Crompton, and Mr. Bidolph of Bidolph; sir Thomas Whitgreave, Mr. Chetwin, Mr. Gerard, and his family; Mr. Heningham and his; the Pendrels of Boscobel, and above 40 more; nor is there one day during the whole time, in which there are not produced above a dozen of these witnesses.

On Friday the 24th of January, after two reprieves, father Ireland and Mr. Grove were drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, abused all the

way, and pelted by the mob, whose insults they endured with a christian and chearful patience. At the place of execution, Mr. Ireland spoke as follows :

‘ We are come hither, as on the last theatre of the world, and do therefore conceive we are obliged to speak. First then we do confess, that we pardon all and every one whatsoever, that have any interest, concern, or hand in this our death. Secondly, we do publicly profess and acknowledge, that we are here obliged, if we were guilty ourselves of any treason, to declare it, and that if we knew any person faulty therein, (although he were our father) we would detect and discover him; and as for ourselves, we would beg a thousand and a thousand pardons both of God and man; but seeing we cannot be believed, we must beg leave to commit ourselves to the mercy of almighty God, and hope to find pardon of him through Christ.

‘ As for my own part, having been twenty years in the low countries, and then coming over in June was twelvemonth, I had returned again, had I not been hindered by a fit of sickness. On the third of August last I took a journey into Staffordshire, and did not come back to town till the 14th of September, as many can witness, for a hundred and more saw me in Staffordshire, and thereabouts; therefore how I should in this time be acting here treasonable stratagems, I do not well know or understand.’

Here one of the sheriffs told him, he would do well to make better use of his time, than to spend it in such like expressions, for nobody would believe him; not, said he, that we think much of our time, for we will stay, but such kind of words arraign the proceedings of the court by which you were tried.

Then Mr. Ireland proceeded, ‘ I beg of God Almighty to shower down a thousand and a thousand blessings upon his majesty, on her sacred majesty, on the duke of York, and all the royal family, and also on the whole kingdom. As for the catholics that are here, we desire their prayers for a happy passage into a better world, and that God would be merciful to all christian souls. And as for all our enemies, we earnestly desire that God would pardon them again and again; for we pardon them heartily, from the bottom of our hearts; and so I beseech all good people to pray for us, and with us.’

Then Mr. Groves said, ‘ we are innocent, we lose our lives wrongfully, we pray God to forgive them that are the causers of it.’

Then having commended their departing souls into the hands of their Creator, they were executed according to sentence; father Ireland being then in the 43d year of his age, and the 24th of his entering into religion.

Mr. Pickering was reprieved till the 9th of May, either in hopes of his making discoveries, or because the king was very unwilling to consent to his death. But on the day aforesaid he was drawn to Tyburn, and there executed. He expressed a very great joy that he was so happy as to yield up his life to God, in a case where his conscience assured him his religion was his only guilt: and he took it upon his salvation, that he was innocent in thought, word, and deed, of all that was laid

‘pected he was then employed in the murder, or used it as a ground of
 ‘accusation, so that he went and informed against him.—Prance was
 ‘taken up by a warrant of council, and Bedloe, who was the first dis-
 ‘coverer, was called upon to give an account of him. Bedloe foresee-
 ‘ing this, had found means to get a sight of him privately before, so
 ‘that when he was planted in the room where Prance was brought, he
 ‘started up, and with a cursed oath cried out, this is one of the rogues
 ‘I saw with a dark lanthorn about sir Edmundbury Godfrey’s body, but
 ‘he was then in a perriwig. Prance was brought before the committee of
 ‘council, where Bedloe charged him directly with the murder, and
 ‘Wren with being out of his house those nights that Godfrey was mis-
 ‘sing. He denied the least knowledge of the murder, or the plot.
 ‘He was sent to Newgate, where also at first he denied every thing;
 ‘but at last (whether compelled by barbarous usage, as he afterwards
 ‘swore, is uncertain) he made a confession. But afterwards again he
 ‘retracted it before the king in council. And thus he went on for some
 ‘time, denying one day, and confessing another, till at last he settled
 ‘upon a confession.’ Baker’s Chronicle, page 695.

The Persons accused by Prance as actors in the murder were Law-
 rence Hill, servant to Dr. Godden, Robert Green, an ancient feeble
 man, cushion-keeper of the queen’s chapel, and Henry Berry, the por-
 ter of Somerset-house. They were brought on their trial the 10th of
 February 1678-9, Prance and Bedloe appearing as evidences. And
 though Bedloe in his former information had not mentioned any of the
 three, nor even at the trial could charge them with having seen them
 about the dead body; but named quite different persons, yet were they
 found guilty by the jury, ‘They brought witnesses, says Baker’s
 ‘chronicle, p. 695, to prove that they came home in a good hour, on
 ‘those nights in which the fact was said to be done. Those who lived
 ‘in Godden’s lodgings deposed, that no dead body could be brought
 ‘thither “as was pretended by Prance” for they were every day in the
 ‘room that Prance had named. And the centinels of the night “in
 ‘which he was pretended to be carried out in a sedan” said they saw
 ‘no sedan brought out. This defence was very strong, but it was for-
 ‘ced to give way to the fury of the times; for they were found guilty,
 ‘condemned and executed. But they denied to the last moment all that
 ‘was sworn against them.

The same historian tells us, p. 689, ‘That there were other informa-
 ‘tions given in upon oath a few years after, of many foul and enormous
 ‘practices with the author of this discovery “Prance” and with others.
 ‘And that in those times, I speak it (says he) with horror, perjury
 ‘and subornation grew so common, that no dependance can, I think,
 ‘be reasonably had on any informations of that kind, viz. such as
 ‘Prance’s and Bedloe’s were.

Mr. Hill and Mr. Green were carried to Tyburn, February 21, and
 there executed. Mr Hill upon this occasion spoke as follows :

‘I am now come to the fatal place of execution, and in a little time
 ‘must appear before the tribunal of God Almighty, who knoweth all
 ‘things; and I hope it will be happy for me, because I am innocently
 ‘put to death. I take God, men and angels to witness, I am innocent
 ‘of the death of justice Godfrey: and believe it will be well for me,

‘ because I die innocently ; and hope through the merits of my blessed
 ‘ Saviour to be saved. I do confess, as I lived, so I die a Roman ca-
 ‘ tholic, desiring such to pray for me. God bless and preserve his
 ‘ majesty, and this poor nation, and lay not innocent blood to its charge.
 ‘ So I bid you all farewell in Jesus Christ, into whose hands I commend
 ‘ my spirit.

Then Mr. Green spake thus :—‘ I desire all your prayers ; and as for
 ‘ sir Edmundbury Godfrey, I know not whether he be dead or alive ;
 ‘ for in my days I never saw him with my eyes, as I know of ; and if
 ‘ false people will swear against me, I cannot help it. I pray to God to
 ‘ bless my king and all his people.’

Captain Richardson told him, he had a fair trial, and wished him not
 to reflect upon others, but to prepare himself for death. To which Mr.
 Green replied, ‘ I pray God Almighty forgive them all : I never saw
 ‘ sir Edmundbury Godfrey to my knowledge in my life.’

Mr. Berry was executed on the 28th of the same month. He was
 brought back to the protestant religion in prison by Dr. Lloyd, or rather
 declared he never was indeed a catholic, though for interest he had some
 time professed himself such. He persisted to the end in denying the
 fact of which he had been accused ; and as the cart was drawing away
 he lifted up his hands and said, *as I am innocent, so receive my soul,*
O Jesus.

195. * *Thomas Whitebread.*—196. *William Harcourt.*
 197. *John Fenwick.*—198. *John Gavan.*—199. *An-*
thony Turner.—*Priests, S. J.*

THOMAS Whitebread, alias Harcot, was born in Essex, of a gentle-
 man's family, and after a pious education at home was sent to the semi-
 nary of St. Omers, where he studied his humanity under the fathers of
 the society ; and then at the age of 17, entered upon his noviceship at
 Watten, September the 7th, 1635. After having made his first vows,
 and finished his course of philosophy and divinity, being now priest, he
 was sent upon the English mission, in which he laboured with great fruit,
 and a remarkable zeal for the conversion of souls, for above thirty years ;
 sparing no pains in bringing back the strayed sheep to the fold of Christ,
 for which end also he composed and published some controversial tracts
 yet extant in print.

At length he was made provincial or chief superior of his order in
 England. At which time going over to make his visitation amongst his
 brethren in their college at Liege, and preaching to them, as the custom
 is, at the renovation of their vows, on St. James's day, July 25, 1678
 (that is, about two months before the persecution begun) upon that text
 of the gospel of the day, *Potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum?*
Dicunt ei, possumus. *Can you drink the chalice which I am to drink?*
they say to him we can. St. Matthew xx. 22. He not obscurely dis-

* From their printed trials and speeches, and the compendium or short view of the
 trials in Oates's Plot, printed in 1679. Item, from Florus Anglo-Bavaricus. p. 151,
 162, &c. And other monuments in my hands.

covered the foresight he had of that storm which afterwards arose, and of his own and his brethren's sufferings on that occasion. For after having told them, the times were now indeed quiet, but God only knew how long they would be so, he most remarkably thus repeated his text, says F. Joseph Wakeman one of those that were then present, "in a manuscript in my hands," *potestis bibere calicem, &c.* Can you undergo a hard persecution? Are you contented to be falsely betrayed and injured, and hurried away to prison? *Possumus.* We can, blessed be God! *Potestis bibere, &c.* Can you suffer the hardships of a jail? Can you sleep on straw, and live on hard diet? Can you lie in chains and fetters? Can you endure the rack? *Possumus.* We can, blessed be God! *Potestis bibere calicem, &c.?* Can you be brought to the bar, and hear yourselves falsely sworn against? Can you patiently receive the sentence of an unjust judge, condemning you to a painful and ignominious death, to be hanged, drawn and quartered? *Possumus.* We can. Which Clausula, as I take it, he always uttered with his hands joined before his breast, and his eyes up to heaven, in manner of prayer.' So far F. Wakeman in his testimony given the 28th of May, 1681, and confirmed by the subscription of F. John Warner, then rector of Liege, afterwards provincial, who was also present at that exhortation.

Soon after his return to England this storm broke out; and he was apprehended by Oates, at a time that he was labouring under a grievous illness; and being committed to prison, and loaded with chains, suffered much in his body, whilst his soul received a continual support from God by the means of mental prayer, to which he was always much addicted. After many months imprisonment, his trial came on at the Old-Baily, on the 13th of June 1679, where four of his companions were arraigned with him, who also afterwards suffered with him. These were,

1. Father William Harcourt, alias Waring, whose true name was Barrow, a native of Lancashire, who entered into the society at the age of 23, October the 12th, 1632; was sent upon the mission in 1646, where he laboured for five and thirty years, and deservedly gained the love and esteem of all that knew him. He was rector of London at the time of his apprehension, and venerable for his grey hairs, being seventy years of age; having been reserved till this time to meet with that death which he had every day prayed for, for twenty years.

2. Father John Fenwick, whose true name was Caldwell, a native of the bishoprick of Durham; born of protestant parents, who turned him off upon his conversion to the catholic faith. He was educated in the seminary of St. Omer's, entered into the society at the age of 28, anno 1656, was sent upon the English mission anno 1675, and being procurator for his brethren, and a diligent labourer in the vineyard of his master, was apprehended soon after the breaking out of the plot. He suffered much in prison from his chains and bolts, so that it was once under deliberation whether his leg must not be cut off. He was in the 51st year of his age, and the 23d of his religious profession.

3. Father John Gavan, or Gawen, a native of London, educated in the seminary of St. Omer's, where for his candour and innocence he

was called the Angel. He entered into the society at the age of 20 years *anno* 1660, performed his higher studies partly at Liege and partly at Rome; then being sent into England in 1671, he was for eight years a diligent preacher and zealous labourer in the vineyard, and brought over many converts to the church. He was 39 years of age, and had been 19 years in the society. And,

4. Father Anthony Turner, a native of Leicestershire, and a minister's son, brought up in the university of Cambridge, and there made bachelor of arts, who being converted to the catholic religion went over to Rome, where he passed through the course of his philosophy in the English college; and then was sent to Watten, to the noviciate of the society of Jesus, *anno* 1653, being then 24 years of age. He learned his divinity at Liege, and being made priest was sent upon the mission, where he laboured for about 18 years; his residence being chiefly at Worcester. He had a great talent for preaching and controversy; and an ardent desire of suffering for his faith. At the breaking out of the persecution he went up to London, and delivered himself up to a justice of peace, acknowledging that he was a priest and a jesuit. He was 50 years of age, and had been in the society 22 years.

These five were all brought to the bar June the 13th. ' At this trial, says the continuator of Baker's chronicle, p. 699, appeared a new evidence, Stephen Dugdale, who had been bailiff to lord Aston; his carriage and behaviour gave more credit to the plot than that of Oates and Bedloe. But in some time this new witness proved as bad as the rest. Oates and Bedloe repeated the evidence they had given before; excepting that Bedloe charged them (now) upon his own knowledge, with what he had before only spoken of by hear-say. And the reason he gave was, that the practices of Reading "accused of tampering with Bedloe" had engaged him to soften his evidence.— This was an open confession of perjury, which ought to have set him aside for a witness ever after. And judge Wylde, a worthy and ancient judge, told him, when he said this, he was a perjured man, and ought to come no more into courts, but go home and repent. But people were not yet cool enough for reflection, so that not only this passed over, but the judge was turned out for his freedom. Dugdale confirmed Oates's and Bedloe's evidence by accounts of the consultations of the jesuits in Staffordshire, about the same time. Prance too added his part towards the charge against Harcourt; and said moreover, that he told him of 50,000 men that were to be in readiness to establish popery.

On the other hand F. Whitebread objected to Oates's evidence, says Mr. Salmon, in his examination of Burnet, p. 803, ' that he was not a credible witness, having taken contradictory oaths: and that it was not probable he should trust a man in a conspiracy against the king's life, whom, by his own confession, he had never seen, and whom they had dismissed from St. Omer's for his irregular life. The prisoners also produced fifteen young gentlemen, students of St. Omer's, who deposed, that Oates was at St. Omer's at the time he swore he was at the consult at London: they deposed also, that several of the persons, whom Oates swore came over with him, were in Flanders at that time. Other witnesses deposed, that Gavan was in Staf-

‘fordshire at the time Oates swore he was in London.—They urged farther, that the witnesses who swore against them were vicious profligate persons of desperate fortunes, and who made a livelihood of swearing; and desired that the court would permit them to shew what Oates had deposed in Ireland’s trial. Whereupon sir John Southcote and the lady Southcote, and several other persons deposed, that Ireland was in Staffordshire when Oates swore he was in town. Whitebread also observed, that at his first trial, when Oates was pressed to declare who had seen him in town, he could not name one; but he said he had not seen much company, and staid but six days; and now he swore he came over the 17th of April, and his witnesses deposed, they saw him here the beginning of May, which must be a great deal more than six days; and consequently his oath either at this or the former trial is false. They said, it was probable also that Oates was disgusted at his being turned out of the college of St. Omer’s, and this might be the ground of his malice against them.—As to Dugdale, that he run away from the lord Aston, having lost 300*l.* of his lordship’s money.—That it was strange there should be a plot, wherein so many persons of honour and quality were said to be concerned, and no footsteps of it should appear, no arms bought, no men enlisted, or any provision made to put it in execution; and in short, that there was no manner of reason to induce the jury’s belief, but downright swearing. And as to the prisoners themselves, they appealed to the world for the innocence and unblameableness of their lives hitherto; whereas it was evident how viciously and scandalously their accusers had lived.’ So far Mr. Salmon.

However lord chief justice Scroggs, who behaved himself very partially in this whole trial, directed the jury to find them guilty, and according to his direction the jury brought in their verdict. The comportment of the prisoners was all the while very edifying, not the least passion or alteration appearing in them, either at the invectives of the judge, or the clamours of the people (for never was any bear-baiting more rude and boisterous than this trial) but they made a clear and candid defence, with a chearful and unconcerned countenance, says a priest an eye-witness; so that a stander-by said, if there had been a jury of Turks they had been acquitted. The next day they all received the sentence of death, according to the usual form, as in cases of high-treason.

After sentence received they were sent back to Newgate, there to prepare themselves for their exit. Where the day before the execution my lord Shaftsbury was with F. Gavan and F. Turner, promising the king’s pardon, if they would acknowledge the conspiracy. F. Gavan answered, ‘he would not murder his soul to save his body; for that to acknowledge the plot would be acknowledging what he knew not, and what he did believe was not.’ On Friday therefore, being the 20th of June, they were all laid on sledges, and drawn from Newgate to Tyburn. F. Whitebread and F. Harcourt were on one sledge, F. Turner and F. Gavan on another, and F. Fenwick on a third by himself. Their comportment was modestly chearful, and religious, which served not a little to allay the fury of the people. They prayed devoutly at the place of execution. And each of them made a speech, which we must not here omit.

Father Whitebread's Speech.

I suppose it is expected I should speak something to the matter I am condemned for, and brought hither to suffer; it is no less than the contriving and plotting his majesty's death, and the alteration of the government of the church and state. You all either know, or ought to know, I am to make my appearance before the face of Almighty God, and with all imaginable certainty and evidence to receive a final judgment, for all the thoughts, words, and actions of my whole life. So that I am not now upon terms to speak other than the truth; and therefore, in his most holy presence, and as I hope for mercy from his Divine Majesty, I do declare to you here present, and to the whole world, that I go out of the world as innocent, and as free from any guilt of these things laid to my charge in this matter, as I came into the world from my mother's womb: and that I do renounce from my heart all manner of pardons, absolutions, dispensations for swearing, as occasions or interest may seem to require, which some have been pleased to lay to our charge, as matters of our practice and doctrine, but is a thing so unjustifiable and unlawful, that I believe, and ever did, that no power on earth can authorize me, or any body so to do. As for those who have most falsely accused me (as time, either in this world, or in the next, will make appear) I do heartily forgive them, and beg of God to grant them his holy grace, that they may repent of their unjust proceedings against me; otherwise they will in conclusion find they have done themselves more wrong than I have suffered from them, though that has been a great deal. I pray God bless his majesty both temporally and eternally, which has been my daily prayer for him, and is all the harm that I ever intended or imagined against him. And I do with this my last breath, in the sight of God declare, that I never did learn, or teach, or believe, nor can as a catholic believe, that it is lawful upon any occasion or pretence whatsoever, to design or contrive the death of his majesty, or any hurt to his person; but on the contrary all are bound to obey, defend, and preserve his sacred person, to the utmost of their power. And I do moreover declare, that this is the true and plain sense of my soul, in the sight of him who knows the secrets of my heart, and as I hope to see his blessed face, without any equivocation or mental reservation. This is all I have to say concerning the matter of my condemnation; that which remains for me now to do, is to recommend my soul into the hands of my blessed Redeemer, by whose only merits and passion I hope for salvation.

Farther Harcourt's Speech.

The words of dying persons have been always esteemed as of greatest authority, because uttered then, when shortly after they are to be cited before the high tribunal of Almighty God. This gives me hopes that mine may be looked upon as such; therefore I do here declare in the presence of Almighty God, the whole court of heaven, and this numerous assembly, that as I hope by the merits and passion of my Lord and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ for eternal bliss, I am as innocent as the child unborn of any thing laid to my charge, and for which I am here to die.

Sheriff How. Or sir Edmunbury Godfrey's death?

Harcourt. Or sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death.

Sher. How. Did not you write that letter concerning the dispatch of sir Edmundbury Godfrey?

Harcourt. *No sir; these are the words of a dying man, I would not do it for a thousand worlds.*

Sher. How. How have you lived? Harcourt. *I have lived like a man of repute all my life, and never was before the face of a judge till my trial: no man can accuse me. I have from my youth been bred up in the education of my duty towards God and man.*

Harcourt. And I do utterly abhor and detest that abominable false doctrine laid to our charge, that we can have licenses to commit perjury, or any sin to advantage our cause, being expressly against the doctrine of St. Paul, saying, *non sunt facienda mala, ut eveniant bona*; evil is not to be done, that good may come thereof. And therefore we hold it in all cases unlawful to kill or murder any person whatsoever, much more our lawful king now reigning; whose person and temporal dominions we are ready to defend with our lives and fortunes, against any opponent whatsoever, none excepted. I forgive all that have contrived my death, and humbly beg pardon of Almighty God for them. And I ask pardon of all the world. I pray God bless his majesty, and grant him a prosperous reign. The like I wish to his royal consort, the best of queens. I humbly beg the prayers of all those who are in the communion of the Roman church, if any such be present.

Mr. Turner's Speech.

Being now, good people, very near my end, and summoned by a violent death to appear before God's tribunal, there to render an account of all my thoughts, words, and actions, before a just judge, I conceive I am bound in conscience to do myself that justice, as to declare upon oath my innocence from the horrid crime of treason, with which I am falsely accused: and I esteem it a duty I owe to christian charity, to publish to the world before my death, all that I know in this point, concerning those catholics I have conversed with since the first noise of the plot, desiring from the bottom of my heart that the whole truth may appear, that innocence may be cleared, to the greater glory of God, and the peace and welfare of the king and country. As to myself, I call God to witness, that I was never in my whole life present at any consult or meeting of the jesuits, where any oath of secrecy was taken, or the sacrament, as a bond of secrecy, either by me, or any one of them, to conceal any plot against his sacred majesty; nor was I ever present at any meeting or consult of theirs, where any proposal was made, or resolve taken or signed, either by me or any of them, for taking away the life of our dread sovereign; an impiety of such a nature, that had I been present at such a meeting, I should have been bound by the laws of God, and by the principles of my religion (and by God's grace would have acted accordingly) to have discovered such a devilish treason to the civil magistrate, to the end they might have been brought to condign punishment. I was so far, good people, from being in September last at a consult of the Jesuits at Tixall, in Mr. Ewer's chamber, that I vow to God, as I hope for salvation, I never was so much as once that year at Tixall, my lord Aston's house. It is true, I was at the congregation

of Jesuits held on the 24th of April was twelve-month; but in that meeting, as I hope to be saved, we meddled not with state affairs, but only treated about the concerns of our province, which is usually done by us, without offence to temporal princes, every third year all the world over. Sheriff How. You do only justify yourselves here. We will not believe a word that you say. Spend your time in prayer, and we will not think our time too long.

I am, good people, as free from the treason I am accused of as the child that is unborn, and being innocent I never accused myself in confession of any thing that I am charged with. Certainly, if I had been conscious to myself of any guilt in this kind, I should not so frankly and freely, as I did, of my own accord, have presented myself before the king's most honourable privy council. As for those catholics which I have conversed with since the noise of the plot, I protest before God, in the words of a dying man, that I never heard any one of them, either priest or layman, express to me the least knowledge of any plot, that was then on foot amongst the catholics, against the king's most excellent majesty, for the advancing the catholic religion. I die a Roman catholic, and humbly beg the prayers of such, for my happy passage into a better life. I have been of that religion above thirty years, and now give God Almighty infinite thanks for calling me by his holy grace to the knowledge of this truth, notwithstanding the prejudice of my former education. God of his infinite goodness bless the king, and all the royal family; and grant his majesty a prosperous reign here, and a crown of glory hereafter. God in his mercy forgive all those which have falsely accused me, or have had any hand in my death: I forgive them from the bottom of my heart, as I hope myself for forgiveness at the hands of God.

Mr. Turner's Prayer.

O God, who hast created me to a supernatural end, to serve thee in this life by grace, and enjoy thee in the next by glory; be pleased to grant by the merits of thy bitter death and passion, that after this wretched life shall be ended, I may not fail of a full enjoyment of thee my last end and sovereign good. I humbly beg pardon for all the sins which I have committed against thy divine majesty, since the first instant I came to the use of reason to this very time. I am heartily sorry from the very bottom of my heart, for having offended thee, so good, so powerful, so wise, and so just a God, and purpose by the help of thy grace, never more to offend thee my good God, whom I love above all things.

O sweet Jesus, who hast suffered a most painful and ignominious death upon the cross for our salvation, apply, I beseech thee, unto me the merits of thy sacred passion, and sanctify unto me these sufferings of mine, which I humbly accept of for thy sake, in union of the sufferings of thy sacred majesty, and in punishment and satisfaction of my sins.

O my dear Saviour and Redeemer, I return thee immortal thanks for all thou hast pleased to do for me in the whole course of my life; and now in the hour of my death, with a firm belief of all things thou hast revealed, and a stedfast hope of obtaining everlasting bliss, I cheerfully cast myself into the arms of thy mercy, whose arms were stretched upon the cross for my redemption. Sweet Jesus receive my spirit.

Mr. Gavan's Speech.

Dearly beloved countrymen, I am come to the last scene of mortality, to the hour of my death; an hour which is the horizon between time and eternity; an hour which must either make me a star to shine for ever in heaven above, or a firebrand to burn everlastingly amongst the damned souls in hell below; an hour in which, if I deal sincerely, and with a hearty sorrow acknowledge my crimes, I may hope for mercy; but if I falsely deny them, I must expect nothing but eternal damnation: and therefore, what I shall say in this great hour, I hope you will believe. And now in this hour I do solemnly swear, protest, and vow, by all that is sacred in heaven, and on earth, and as I hope to see the face of God in glory, that I am as innocent as the child unborn, of those treasonable crimes which Mr. Oates and Mr. Dugdale have sworn against me in my trial; and for which, sentence of death was pronounced against me the day after my trial. And that you may be assured that what I say is true, I do in like manner protest, vow, and swear, as I hope to see the face of God in glory, that I do not, in what I say unto you, make use of any equivocation, or mental reservation, or material prolation, or any such like way to palliate truth. Neither do I make use of any dispensations from the pope, or any body else; or of any oath of secrecy, or any absolutions in confession, or out of confession, to deny the truth; but I speak in the plain sense which the words bear; and if I do speak in any other sense, to palliate or hide the truth, I wish with all my soul that God may exclude me from his heavenly glory, and condemn me to the lowest place of hell fire: and so much to that point.

And now, dear countrymen, in the second place, I do confess and own to the whole world, that I am a Roman catholic, and a priest, and one of that sort of priests called jesuits. And now, because they are so falsely charged for holding king-killing doctrine, I think it my duty to protest to you, with my last dying words, that neither I in particular, nor the jesuits in general, hold any such opinion, but utterly abhor and detest it: and I assure you, that amongst the vast numbers of authors, which among the jesuits have printed philosophy, divinity, cases, or sermons, there is not one, to the best of my knowledge, that allows of king-killing doctrine, or holds this position, that it is lawful for a private person to kill a king, although an heretic, although a pagan, although a tyrant: there is, I say, not one jesuit that holds this, except Mariana, the Spanish jesuit, and he defends it not absolutely, but only problematically, for which his book was called in, and that opinion expunged and censured. And is it not a sad thing, that for the rashness of one single man, whilst the rest cry out against him, and hold the contrary, that a whole religious order should be sentenced? But I have not time to discuss this point at large, and therefore I refer you all to a royal author, I mean the wise and victorious king Henry the fourth of France, the royal grandfather of our present gracious king, in a public oration which he pronounced, in defence of the jesuits, amongst other things, declaring, that he was very well satisfied with the jesuits' doctrine concerning kings, as being conformable to the best doctors in the church. But why do I relate the testimony of one single prince, when the whole catholic world is the jesuits' advocate therein? Does not Germany, France, Italy,

Spain, and Flanders, trust the education of their youth to them in a very great measure? Do not they trust their own souls to be governed by them, in the administration of the sacraments? and can you imagine so many great kings and princes, and so many wise states should do, or permit this to be done in their kingdoms, if the jesuits were men of such damnable principles as they are now taken for in England?

In the third place, dear countrymen, I do protest, that as I never in my life did machine, or contrive either the deposition or death of the king, so now at my death, I do heartily desire of God to grant him a quiet and happy reign upon earth, and an everlasting crown in heaven. For the judges also, and the jury, and all those that were any ways concerned, either in my trial, accusation, or condemnation, I do humbly beg of God, to grant them both temporal and eternal happiness. And as for Mr. Oates and Mr. Dugdale, I call God to witness, they by false oaths have brought me to this untimely end. I heartily forgive them, because God commands me so to do; and I beg God for his infinite mercy, to grant them true sorrow and repentance in this world, that they may be capable of eternal happiness in the next. And having discharged my duty towards myself, and my own innocence; towards my order, and its doctrine; to my neighbour and the world, I have nothing else to do now, my great God, but to cast myself into the arms of your mercy. I believe you are one divine essence and three divine persons; I believe that you in the second person of the trinity became man to redeem me; and I believe you are an eternal rewarder of the good, and an eternal chastiser of the bad. In fine, I believe all you have revealed for your own infinite veracity; I hope in you above all things, for your infinite fidelity; and I love you above all things, for your infinite beauty and goodness; and I am heartily sorry that ever I offended so great a God with my whole heart: I am contented to undergo an ignominious death for the love of you, my dear Jesu, seeing you have been pleased to undergo an ignominious death for the love of me.

Mr. Fenwick's Speech.

Good people, I suppose you expect I should say something as to the crime I am condemned for, and either acknowledge my guilt, or assert my innocence. I do therefore declare before God and the whole world, and call God to witness that what I say is true, that I am innocent of what is laid to my charge, of plotting the king's death, and endeavouring to subvert the government, and bring in a foreign power, as the child unborn; and that I know nothing of it, but what I have learned from Mr. Oates and his companions, and what comes originally from them.

Sher. How. If you can make a good conclusion to your own life, it will do well; consider if your letters did not agree with the evidence, that's another matter.—Fenwick. I assure you, I do renounce all treason from my very heart. I have always, and ever shall disown the opinion of such devilish practices as these are of king-killing. If I speak not the whole frame of my heart, I wish God may exclude me from his glory.—Sher. How. Those that murdered sir Edmundbury Godfrey, said as you do.—Fenwick. As for sir Edmundbury Godfrey, I protest before God, I know nothing of it; I never saw the man in my life.—Sher. How. For my part, I am of opinion you had a hand in it.—Fen-

wick. Now that I am a dying man, do you think I would go and damn my soul? Sher. How. I wish you all the good I can, but I'll assure you, I believe never a word you say. Fenwick. I pray for his majesty every day, and wish him all happiness with all my heart. Also I do with all my soul pardon all my accusers. If the judge or jury did any thing amiss, I pardon them with all my soul, and all persons directly or indirectly. I am very willing and ready to suffer this death. I pray God pardon me my sins, and save my soul.

And as to what is said and commonly believed of Roman catholics, that they are not to be believed or trusted, because they can have dispensations for lying, perjury, killing kings, and other the most enormous crimes, I do utterly renounce all such pardons, dispensations, and withal declare, that it is a most wicked and malicious calumny cast upon catholics, who do all, with all their hearts and souls, hate and detest all such wicked and damnable practices; and in the words of a dying man, and as I hope for mercy at the hands of God, before whom I must shortly appear and give an account of all my actions, I do declare, that what I have said is true; and I hope christian charity will not let you think, that by the last act of my life, I would cast away my soul, by sealing up my last breath with a damnable lie.

Then they were at their private devotions for about an hour.

When they had ended their prayers, and the ropes were about their necks, there came a horseman in full speed from Whitehall, crying as he rode a pardon, a pardon, and with difficulty he made through the press to the sheriff, who was under the gallows to see execution performed. This pardon expressed, How the king most graciously, and out of his inclination to clemency, had granted them their lives, which by treason they had forfeited, upon condition they would acknowledge the conspiracy, and lay open what they knew thereof. They all thanked his majesty for his inclination of mercy towards them; but as to any conspiracy, they knew of none, much less were guilty of any; and therefore could not accept of any pardon upon those conditions.

In fine, after a short recollection, the cart was drawn away, and they were permitted to hang till they were dead; and then were cut down and quartered. Their quarters were given to their friends, by whom they were interred in the church-yard of St. Giles in the Fields. Divers catholics dipped their handkerchiefs in their blood, which, as we are credibly informed, have been instruments of great cures. It was very observable, that Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was present at the execution, and expressed a more than ordinary joy on that occasion, was himself five years after, on the self same day, brought to suffer the same death, in the same place. F. Whitebread suffered in the 61st year of his age, and the 44th of his religious profession.

Two other priests of the same society died in prison not long after the beginning of this persecution, viz. father Edward Mico, socius to the provincial, accused and apprehended by Oates, and hurried away to prison, whilst he was labouring under a violent fever. He

perished in Newgate, December the 3d, 1678, being found dead on his knees, says a manuscript in my hands, oppressed with the weight of his irons. And father Thomas Momford, alias Bedingfield, who in like manner perished in the Gatehouse, December 21, the same year. And in the February following, father Francis Nevill, an ancient missionary of the same society, being now 84 years of age, and having spent 48 of them in the English mission, was apprehended in the house of a catholic gentleman, and flung down stairs by the pursuivants; and so brought to his end. Also F. Thomas Jenison, of the same society, accused by Oates of the plot, after enduring for a twelvemonth the incommodities of his prison, died on the 27th of September, 1679.

200. * *Richard Langhorne, Esq.*

RICHARD Langhorne was an eminent counsellor at law, an upright and religious man; who being a zealous catholic, was pitched upon by Oates and his associates as a proper person to impeach as a ring-leader in their pretended plot. He was therefore apprehended among the first that fell into the hands of those miscreants; and committed to Newgate, October the 7th, 1678, and after above eight months close imprisonment, was tried at the Old Bailey on Saturday the 14th of June, 1679. Here Oates swore, 'That he "Mr. Langhorne" was acquainted with the consultations for killing the king, and was consenting to them; and that he had in his custody the patents for the lords in the Tower "Powis, Stafford, Petre, Arundel and Bel-lasis," and one for himself to be advocate of the army. And Bedloe swore that he had seen him register treasonable letters relating to the plot. In answer to this evidence he called the same witnesses that had been brought the day before "by the five jesuits" to prove Oates perjured. And whereas Oates had named Mrs. Grove's house, in which he said he lay during the time of the consult, he produced Mrs. Grove to testify he never was there about that time, which was confirmed by her maid. He argued also many things relating to the improbability of the evidence, but the times were not yet cool enough to bear reason; so that he was brought in *guilty*, and condemned with the five jesuits, who were tried the day before him. He was reprieved for some time in hopes that he would make discoveries; but he persisted to the last in affirming that he could make none, and that all that was sworn against him was false. He spent the time allowed him in writing some devout and well-composed meditations.' So far the continuator of Baker's Chronicle.

Mr. Langhorne was drawn to Tyburn on the 14th day of July, 1679, where he delivered to Mr. How the sheriff the speech which he had prepared, desiring it might be published. 'Tis extant in print (published with Mr. Langhorne's memoirs and devotions) and contains, 1. An ample declaration of his allegiance to the king. 2. A solemn profession of his innocence, as to all the matters of which he was accused by Oates and Bedloe. 3. A declaration, that he believed

* From his printed trial, and dying speech; and from Baker's Chronicle, p. 700.

it would be a damnable sin in him, to conceal any treason or treasonable design whatsoever against his majesty's person and government, & that no power in earth or even in heaven could dispense with him to tell a lie, or to commit any sin, or do any evil that good might come of it. All which, as he solemnly professed in the presence of God, and as he hoped for any benefit from the passion of Christ, was understood by him in the plain and ordinary sense and acceptation of the words, without any evasion, or equivocation, or mental reservation. After which he goes on as follows.

' Having made this declaration and protestation in the most plain terms that I can possibly imagine to express my sincere loyalty and innocency, and the clear intention of my soul, I leave it to the judgment of all good and charitable persons whether they will believe what is here in this manner affirmed, and sworn by me in my present circumstances, or what is sworn by my accusers.

' I do now farther declare, that I die a member (though an unworthy one) of that holy catholic and apostolic church of Christ, mentioned in the three holy and public creeds of which church our Lord Jesus Christ is the invisible head of influence, to illuminate, guide, protect and govern it by his holy spirit and grace, and of which church the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, is the visible head of government and unity.

' I take it to be clear, that my religion is the sole cause which moved my accusers to charge me with the crime, for which upon their evidence I am adjudged to die, and that my being of that religion which I here profess, was the only ground which could give them any hope to be believed, or which could move my jury to believe the evidence of such men.

' I have had not only a pardon, but also great advantages, as to preferments and estates offered unto me, since this judgment was against me, in case I would have forsaken my religion, and owned myself guilty of the crime charged against me, and charged the same crimes upon others: but blessed be my God, who by his grace hath preserved me from yielding to those temptations, and strengthened me rather to choose this death, than to stain my soul with sin, and to charge others, against truth, with crimes of which I do not know that any person is guilty.

' Having said what concerns me to say as to myself, I now humbly beseech God to bless the king's majesty with all temporal and eternal blessings, and to preserve him and his government from all treasons and traitors whatsoever, and that his majesty may never fall into such hands, as his royal father of glorious memory fell into.

' I also humbly beseech thee, O God, to give true repentance and pardon to all my enemies, and most particularly to the said Mr. Oates and Mr. Bedloe, and to all who have been any ways accessory to the taking away of my life, and the shedding of my innocent blood, or to the preventing the king's mercy from being extended unto me; and likewise to all those who rejoiced at the judgment given against me, or at the execution of the said judgment; and to all those who are or shall be so unchristianly uncharitable,

‘ as to disbelieve, and to refuse to give credit unto my now protestations.

‘ And I beseech thee, O my God, to bless this whole nation, and not to lay the guilt of my blood unto the charge of this nation, or of any other particular person or persons of this nation. Unite all, O my God, unto thee and thy church, by true faith, hope, and charity, for thy mercies’ sake.

‘ And for all those who have shewed charity to me, I humbly beg, O my Jesus, that thou wilt reward them with all blessings both temporal and eternal.’

So far his printed speech, of which he could speak but a small part at the place of his execution.

When the hangman was putting the rope over his head, he took it into his hands and kissed it. Then after having spoken something to the sheriff, he asked the executioner whether the rope was right or no? He said, yes; and asked him whether he did forgive him? to which Mr. Langhorne replied, *I freely do*. Then he betook himself to his prayers, recommending himself to God in silence. The writer said to him, *The Lord have mercy on your soul*. Mr. Langhorne answered, *The Lord in heaven reward your charity*. Then crossing himself he prayed again. *Blessed Jesus, into thy hands I recommend my soul and spirit; now at this instant take me into paradise. I am desirous to be with my Jesus. I am ready, and you need stay no longer for me*. So the cart was drawn away, and he was executed.

After these trials and executions, and the dying protestations of so many men, to whose lives and morals nothing could be objected, the people began by degrees to open their eyes, and not to give such full credit to the oaths of those profligate wretches Oates and Bedloe. So that when sir George Wakeman, and the three monks Mr. Corker, Mr. Marsh, and Mr. Rumley were brought upon their trial at the Old Bailey, July the 16th, both judge and jury plainly discovered that no regard was to be had to the swearing of those miscreants; and the prisoners were all brought in *not guilty*. And from this time the credit of the plot very much declined. However, the persecution against catholics still continued, by which many priests were condemned to die for their character, of whom we shall now treat, according to the order of time in which they suffered.

201. * *William Plessington*.

WILLIAM, or as others call him, John Plessington, was born at the Dimples near Garstang in Lancashire. He was descended of the ancient family of the Plessingtons of Plessington near Blackburn, being a younger son of Mr. Robert Plessington, who in the time of the civil wars was governor for the king of Greenow castle, and suffered imprisonment and loss of his estate for his loyalty. The son, after having made some proficiency in grammar learning (whether at home or abroad I have not found) was sent to the English college of St. Alban

* From a short manuscript account of him, and from his printed speech.

the martyr in Valladolid, where he finished his higher studies, and was made priest. What time he came upon the mission into England, I have not yet learnt, nor the particulars of his missionary labours; only that his residence was chiefly with Mr. Massey of Puddington in Cheshire; and that his zeal in his function (joined to a certain candour, and agreeableness in conversation) as it made him esteemed and loved by the good, so it raised him enemies amongst those that were not good, who caused him to be apprehended, and prosecuted on the score of his priestly character.

He was brought upon his trial at Chester, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in this kingdom contrary to the statute of 27 Elizabeth. The witnesses that appeared against him were, Margaret Plat, George Massey and Robert Wood. These swore they had seen him exercise his priestly functions; and upon their testimony he was brought in guilty, and received sentence of death as in cases of high treason. One of these witnesses was crushed to death, by an accident, not long after. Another died in a hog-stie; and the third lingered away in anguish and misery.

As to Mr. Plessington, he was kept in prison nine weeks after his condemnation; and then on July the 19th, 1679, was drawn to the place of execution, at West-Chester, and there spoke to the people as follows:

‘ Dear Countrymen,

‘ I am here to be executed, neither for theft, murder, nor any thing against the law of God, nor any fact or doctrine inconsistent with monarchy or civil government. I suppose several now present heard my trial at last assizes, and can testify that nothing was laid to my charge but priesthood; and I am sure that you will find that priesthood is neither against the law of God nor monarchy, nor civil government, if you will consult either the Old or New Testament (for it is the basis of religion;) for no priest no religion, St. Paul tells us in Hebrews the viith, and 12th. The priesthood being changed, there is made also of necessity a change of the law, and consequently the priesthood being abolished, the law and religion is quite gone.

‘ But I know it will be said, that a priest ordained by authority derived from the see of Rome, is by the law of the nation to die as a traitor; but if that be so, what must become of all the clergymen of the church of England? for the first protestant bishops had their ordination from those of the church of Rome, or none at all; as appears by their own writers; so that ordination comes thence derivatively to those now living.

‘ As in the primitive times, christians were esteemed traitors, and suffered as such by national laws, so are the priests of the Roman church here esteemed, and suffer as such. But as christianity then was not against the law of God, monarchy, or civil policy; so now there is not any one point of the Roman catholic faith (of which faith I am) that is inconsistent therewith, as is evident by induction in each several point.

‘ That the pope hath power to depose or give license to murder
 ‘ princes, is no point of our belief. And I protest in the sight of God
 ‘ and the court of heaven, that I am absolutely innocent of the plot so
 ‘ much discoursed of, and abhor such bloody and damnable designs;
 ‘ and although it be nine weeks since I was sentenced to die, there is
 ‘ not any thing of that laid to my charge, so that I may well take
 ‘ comfort in St. Peter’s words, 1 Pet. iv. 15, 16. *Let none of you suffer*
 ‘ *as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil-doer, or as a busy body in*
 ‘ *other mens’ matters: yet if any man suffer as a christian, let him not*
 ‘ *be ashamed or sorry.* I have deserved a worse death, for though I
 ‘ have been a faithful and true subject to my king, I have been a
 ‘ grievous sinner against God. Thieves and robbers that rob on high-
 ‘ ways, would have served God in a greater perfection than I have
 ‘ done, had they received so many favours and graces from him as I
 ‘ have.

‘ But as there was never sinner who truly repented and heartily
 ‘ called to Jesus for mercy, to whom he did not shew mercy; so I
 ‘ hope by the merits of his passion, he will have mercy on me, who
 ‘ am heartily sorry that ever I offended him.

‘ Bear witness good hearers, that I profess that I undoubtedly and
 ‘ firmly believe all the articles of the Roman catholic faith, and for the
 ‘ truth of any of them (by the assistance of God) I am willing to die;
 ‘ and I had rather die than doubt of any point of faith taught by our
 ‘ holy mother the Roman catholic church.

‘ In what condition Margaret Plat, one of the chiefest witnesses
 ‘ against me, was before, and after she was with me, let her nearest
 ‘ relations declare.

‘ George Massey, another witness, swore falsely, when he swore
 ‘ I gave him the sacrament, and said mass at the time & place he men-
 ‘ tioned; and I verily think that he never spoke to me, or I to him, or
 ‘ saw each other but at the assizes week; the third witness, Robert
 ‘ Wood, was suddenly killed, but of the dead why should I speak?
 ‘ These were all the witnesses against me, unless those that only de-
 ‘ clared what they heard from others. I heartily and freely forgive
 ‘ all that have been or are any way instrumental to my death, and
 ‘ heartily desire that those that are living may heartily repent.

‘ God bless the king and the royal family, and grant his majesty a
 ‘ prosperous reign here, and a crown of glory hereafter: God grant
 ‘ peace to the subjects, and that they live and die in true faith, hope,
 ‘ and charity. That which remains is, that I recommend myself to
 ‘ the mercy of my Jesus, by whose merits I hope for mercy. O Jesu,
 ‘ be to me a Jesus.’ Which having said, and recommended his
 departing soul to God, he was turned off and executed.

202. * *Philip Evans, Priest, S.J.*—203. *John Lloyd, Priest.*

PHILIP EVANS was born in Monmouthshire in 1645, was educated
 at St. Omer’s, and entered into the society the 7th of September 1665,

* From Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 178. Short memorandums upon their
 death, published in print, &c.

being then 20 years old. After having finished his noviceship and his higher studies, with great satisfaction to his superiors, he was made priest, and sent upon the English mission in 1675. South Wales was the province assigned him, which he diligently cultivated for near four years, having the character of an unwearied labourer in the vineyard, zealous in gaining souls to Christ, and fearing no dangers, where the glory of his Lord, and his neighbour's salvation called him forth. When the persecution broke out, on account of Oates's plot, he was advised by some friends to withdraw himself, his zeal having made him so well known in that country, and withal so obnoxious to the persecutors; but he would not hear of any such counsel, but chose rather to risk his life, like a good shepherd, with and for his sheep, than run away like the hireling, and leave them to the mercy of the wolves. He was apprehended not long after by justice Logher; and upon his refusing the oaths, was committed to Cardiff goal; where for above three weeks he was kept alone in a dungeon or cellar underground, no one being suffered to come near him, or speak to him: till at length Mr. John Lloyd, a virtuous priest of the secular clergy, was committed to the same prison, and from that time till death was his constant companion. Five months passed before any could be induced to appear as witnesses against these confessors of Christ, till at length two poor wretches, a mother and her daughter, appeared against father Evans, and some others against Mr. Lloyd; and they were both found *guilty* by their jury of the high treason of priesthood.

When the sentence was pronounced, F. Evans with a chearful countenance bowing himself down, returned thanks to the judge, and so with great joy went back with his companion to his lodging in the goal. However their execution was deferred for some time; yea so long, that it was thought they would not suffer; and they had even liberty sometimes to go out of prison, and to recreate themselves; when behold on a sudden orders came for their being executed the next day. My author "Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 179." tells us, that when these orders came, M. Evans was actually abroad, engaged in an innocent recreation; and that when the jailor called upon him to acquaint him with the news, and to bring him back to prison; he unconcernedly replied, *What haste is there? let me first play out my game*; and so he did, and then returned to the prison. Here he could scarce contain himself for joy; which he expressed as well by taking up his harp, (for he was a musician) and playing upon it, as by several other tokens of a soul perfectly transported with the thoughts of the happiness now so near at hand, of dying for his faith and character. And now the irons were put upon his feet, which he joyfully kissed; and many catholics flocking to the prison, he took that opportunity of making them a short exhortation to constancy in their faith and patience in their sufferings.

' On the next day being the 22d of July 1679, about nine of the
' clock in the morning, the under sheriff Mr. Charles Evans came to
' the cellar in the goal, where the confessors were kept, and immedi-
' ately a smith was sent for to take off their irons, which were so hard
' set on, that the smith was above an hour in taking off Mr. Evans's

' alone, which was not done without great pain to him ; notwithstanding
 ' ing which he never gave the least sign of impatience or trouble,
 ' but encouraged the man to go on with his work, without fear of
 ' hurting him. When they were brought out of the cellar, they de-
 ' sired to walk on foot to the place of execution, but were refused,
 ' and put both upon one cart ; their arms pinioned ; all the way reading
 ' their books. When they arrived at the place of execution, they followed
 ' St. Andrew's example, saying, *welcome good cross*, and falling upon
 ' their knees, kissed the post of the gallows, and remained praying
 ' there a good while : when they had done, they asked which was to
 ' die first ? the sheriff answered, Mr. Evans ; he bowing, spake these
 ' few words :

' I need not tell you why we are brought here to suffer ; our sen-
 ' tence of condemnation is a sufficient witness, that it was not for a
 ' plot, or any other crime, but for being priests ; consequently I do
 ' die for religion and conscience sake : I shall not speak much of the
 ' goodness of my cause, because I think it will be needless ; but it is
 ' so good, that I would not give the happiness of dying for it, for all
 ' the crowns of the world. Sure if a man ever speaks truth, it must
 ' be at the hour of death, therefore I hope nobody will doubt of what
 ' I say. If I have or had any enemies in the world, which I do not
 ' know that ever I had any in my life, I do heartily forgive them, for
 ' any thing done or said against me ; and if I have offended any body,
 ' I am heartily sorry for it, and ask them forgiveness. I pray God
 ' bless and prosper the king. I beg the prayers of all, and in parti-
 ' cular of the catholics here present. That done, he kneeled down
 ' again with some friends about him, and having said some prayers,
 ' he took his leave of them, and went up the ladder ; upon which he
 ' spoke again these words : sure this is the best pulpit a man can have
 ' to preach in, therefore I cannot forbear to tell you again, that I die
 ' for God and religion sake ; and I think myself so happy, that if I
 ' had never so many lives, I would willingly give them all for so good
 ' a cause. If I could live, it would be but for a little time, though
 ' I am but young ; happy am I that can purchase with a short pain an
 ' everlasting life. I do forgive all those that have had any hand in
 ' my death, accusation or condemnation : I ask again forgiveness of
 ' every body ; I give thanks to all those that have been kind to me,
 ' and to you Mr. Sheriff. Adieu Mr. Lloyd, though for a little time,
 ' for we shall shortly meet again. Pray for me all ; and I shall return
 ' it, when it pleaseth God that I shall enjoy the beatifical vision. If
 ' any of you that see me die thus willingly for my religion, have any
 ' good thought upon it, I shall think myself happy. Then he made a
 ' stop, and after a little while, said with a clear and chearful voice,
 ' *in manus tuas, Domine commendo spiritum meum* ; and so giving the
 ' sign, the executioner turned him over, and the ladder being very
 ' short, it stirred with him ; then Mr. Richard Jones, one of the she-
 ' riff's bailiffs, took his legs from it, and turned them after his body.
 ' All that were present can justify, that he never looked better, nor
 ' more chearful than he did then : all this will be testified (if need be)
 ' by credible persons as well protestants as catholics,' says the printed
 ' account of his death:

‘ During the time of Mr. Evans’s execution, Mr. Lloyd stood by with as much constancy and chearfulness as any man could have; and before he went up the ladder, he said these words following more distinctly and heartily than ever he did in his life, by the report of those that have known him these many years.

‘ My fellow sufferer has declared the cause of our death, therefore I need not repeat it; and besides I never was a good speaker in my life. I shall only say, that I die in the true catholic and apostolic faith, according to these words in the creed, *I believe the holy catholic church*; and with those three virtues, faith, hope and charity. I forgive all those that have offended me; and if I have offended any body, I am heartily sorry for it, and ask them forgiveness. I beg the prayers of all, and in particular of the catholics here present, desiring them to bear their crosses patiently, and to remember that passage of holy scripture, *Happy are they that suffer persecution for justice, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*. Then he went up the ladder, and there gave thanks to all those that had been kind to him, and in particular to the sheriff; then he made a little stop; after which he said, Mr. Carne, you have been always my benefactor, pray for me now; then he knocked his breast three times, and said in Latin, *Lord have mercy upon me, a sinner, and, into thy hands, Lord, I recommend my spirit*; so gave the sign and was turned over.’ — They suffered at Cardiff in Glamorganshire, July 22. Father Evans was 34 years old when he suffered, of which he had spent 14 in the society.

204. * *Nicholas Postgate, vulgò Posket, Priest.*

NICHOLAS Postgate was born at Kirkdale house, in the parish of Eyton, in Yorkshire, about the end of the sixteenth century. His parents were catholics, and great sufferers for their religion. He performed all his studies in the English college of Douay, where he was admitted convictor (being already grown up to man’s estate) in 1621; took the college oath the 12th of March, 1623; was promoted to minor orders December 28, 1624: to the order of sub-deacon December 18, 1627; to the order of deacon, March 18, 1628, and made priest the 20th of March the same year. He has a very fair character in the diary, or journal of the college; from whence he was sent, with proper faculties, upon the English mission, the 29th of June, 1630. His missionary labours were employed in his native country of Yorkshire, for about 50 years, with great benefit to innumerable souls; many, hundreds, some say a thousand, having been reclaimed from their errors or vices by his ministry. His residence, at least for the latter part of his life, was, as we learn from Mr. Ward, (Canto IV. of the reformation) who says, he knew him well, upon a lingy moor, called Blackamoor, about two miles from Mulgrave castle, and five miles from Whitby. This author writes of him as follows:

* From the Douay diary, and other monuments.

' Nor spar'd they father Posket's blood,
 ' A rev'rend priest, devout and good,
 ' Whose spotless life in length was spun
 ' To eighty years, and three times one.
 ' Sweet his behaviour, grave his speech,
 ' He did by good example teach.
 ' His love right bent, his will resign'd,
 ' Serene his look, and calm his mind.
 ' His sanctity to that degree
 ' As angels live, so lived he.
 ' A thatched cottage was the cell
 ' Where this contemplative did dwell;
 ' Two miles from Mulgrave castle 't stood,
 ' Shelter'd by snow-drifts, not by wood.
 ' Tho' there he liv'd to that great age,
 ' It was a dismal hermitage.
 ' But God plac'd there the saint's abode,
 ' For Blackamoor's greater good.

The holy man was apprehended by one Reeves an exciseman, an implacable enemy of catholics, at the house of Matthew Lythis at Little-Beck, near Whitby, and was with his harbourer committed to York goal. When his trial came on, he was indicted for high treason, not as a plotter, but as a priest. The witnesses that appeared against him were Elizabeth Wood, Elizabeth Baxter, and Richard Morrice. These deposed, that they had seen him baptize, and exercise other priestly functions; and upon their evidence he was found *guilty* by his jury, and condemned to die, which sentence was no ways unwelcome to him, who had been learning to die all his life-time.

The day allotted for his triumphant exit, was the 7th of August, 1679; on which day in the morning, amongst other visitors, went to see him, Mrs. Fairfax, wife to Mr. Charles Fairfax of York, and Mrs. Meynel of Kilvington. These ladies having done their devotions, went together to his room, to take their last leave of him, and to crave his blessing. The confessor seeing them in great concern, whereas he was chearful, came up to them, and laying his right hand upon the one, and his left upon the other, they being both at that time big with child, he spoke these words to them: *Be of good heart, children, you shall both be delivered of sons, and they will be both saved.* Immediately after he was laid upon a sledge, and drawn through the streets to the place of execution, where he suffered with great constancy. The two ladies were soon after brought to bed of sons, who were both baptized, and both died in their infancy. This, says the reverend Mr. Knaresborough, in a paper which I have now before me, was told me by Mrs. Fairfax, one of the parties, the 5th of October, 1705.

At the gallows he spoke little; the substance of his words was,
 ' I die in the catholic religion, out of which there is no salvation;
 ' Mr. Sheriff, you know I die not for the plot, but for my religion.
 ' I pray God bless the king and the royal family. Be pleased, Mr.
 ' Sheriff, to acquaint his majesty, that I never offended him in any
 ' manner of way. I pray God give him his grace, and the light of

‘ truth. I forgive all that have wronged me, and brought me to this death, and I desire forgiveness of all people.’ He was executed according to sentence; his quartered body was given to his friends, and interred. One of his hands is preserved in Douay college. The following inscription was put upon a copper plate, and thrown into his coffin.

‘ Here lies that reverend and pious divine, Dr. Nicholas Postgate, who was educated in the English college at Douay. And after he had laboured fifty years, (to the admirable benefit and conversion of hundreds of souls) was at last advanced to a glorious crown of martyrdom at the city of York, on the 7th of August, 1679, having been priest 51 years, aged 82.’

The unhappy Reeves, who apprehended him, never had the £20 reward which he looked for; but after having suffered for some time an extreme torture in body and mind, was found drowned in a small brook.

205. * *Charles Mahony, Priest, O. S. F.*

HE was born in Ireland, and entering amongst the religious of the holy order of St. Francis, made his solemn profession, and was advanced to the sacred dignity of priesthood. Other particulars relating to his life and conversation, I have not found; only, that as he was returning from abroad to his native country, he was drove upon the coast of England; and travelling through Wales in the heat of the persecution, and being found out to be a priest, was committed to prison, and brought upon his trial at Denbigh, upon an indictment of high treason, for taking orders in the church of Rome, and being found in this kingdom. At his trial he confessed himself to be a priest, and was thereupon condemned, and sent to Ruthin to suffer. On the 12th of August, 1679, he was drawn in his habit to the place of execution, where he spoke as follows:

‘ Now God Almighty is pleased I should suffer martyrdom, his holy name be praised, since I die for my religion. But you have no right to put me to death in this country, though I confessed myself to be a priest, for you seized me as I was going to my native country, Ireland, being driven at sea on this coast; for I never used my function in England before I was taken; however, God forgive you, for I do, and shall always pray for you, especially for those that were so good to me in my distress. I pray God bless our king, and defend him from his enemies, and convert him to the holy catholic faith. Amen.’

He suffered with great constancy, being cut down alive and butchered, according to sentence, as I remember to have read in a manuscript, which I could not since recover. His age was under forty.

* From a short manuscript printed after his death.

206. * *John Wall, alias Francis Johnson, Priest, O.S.F.*

JOHN Wall, called in religion father Joachim of St. Ann, and executed under the name of Francis Johnson, was born in Lancashire, anno 1620, of a gentleman's family, possessed at that time of about £500 a year, which he and his elder brother William (afterwards condemned at London under the name of Marsh or Marshal) entering into religion, was devolved to the third brother, and by him enjoyed at the time of the execution of our confessor. Mr. John was sent over young to the English college of Douay, where he performed all his studies, and was made priest. And being now 32 years of age, he took the habit of St. Francis, in the English convent of Douay, on new-year's-day, 1651, and on the same day in the following year made his solemn vows of religion. Such was his comportment during his noviceship, and such the esteem his superiors had of his prudence and zeal for regular discipline, that within half a year after his profession he was made vicar of the convent, and shortly after master of the novices.

He was sent into England upon the mission in the year 1656. His residence was in Worcestershire, where he was some time known by the name of Webb, and was esteemed a laborious missionary, who both by word and example gained many souls to God. He was apprehended at a friend's house, not long after the first breaking out of Oates's plot, by the sheriff's deputy, and others who were making search for another man; and being carried before Sir John Packington and another justice of peace, and refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, was committed to Worcester goal, in the beginning of December, 1678. What he suffered here, and with what disposition of soul, may be gathered from his own words, in his narrative, p. 3. 'Imprisonment, says he, in these times especially, 'when none can send to their friends, nor friends come to them, is 'the best means to teach us how to put our confidence in God alone 'in all things; and then he will make his promise good, *That all 'things shall be added to us*, Luke xii. which chapter, if every one 'would read and make good use of, a prison would be better than a 'palace; and a confinement, for religion and a good conscience sake, 'more pleasant than all the liberties the world could afford. As for my 'own part, God give me his grace, and all faithful christians their 'prayers; I am happy enough.—We all ought to follow the narrow 'way, though there be many difficulties in it. It is an easy thing to 'run the blind way of liberty, but God deliver us from all broad sweet 'ways, &c.'

After five months imprisonment, he was brought upon his trial at Worcester, April 25, 1679, before judge Atkins, upon an indictment of high treason, for being a priest and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. He would neither confess nor deny his priesthood, but defended himself very prudently. There was only one

* From the records of the English Franciscans at Douay; a narrative written by himself of his apprehension and trial, afterwards published in print, and from his printed speech.

witness that voluntarily appeared against him, and three others that came by compulsion; however, the jury found him *guilty* of the indictment, and the judge pronounced sentence against him in the usual form, as in cases of high treason. Upon which the confessor made a bow, and said aloud, *Thanks be to God; God save the king; and I beseech God to bless your lordship, and all this honourable bench.* The judge replied, you have spoken very well, I do not intend you shall die, at least not for the present, until I know the king's further pleasure.

‘I was not, I thank God for it, says father Wall in his narrative, p. 12, troubled with any disturbing thoughts, either against the judge for his sentence, or the jury that gave in such a verdict, or against any of the witnesses; for I was then of the same mind, as by God's grace I ever shall be, esteeming them all the best friends to me, in all they did or said, that ever I had in my life. And I was, I thank God, so present with myself, whilst the judge pronounced the sentence, that without any concern for any thing in this world, I did actually at the same time offer myself and the world to God.’

The holy man goes on in his narrative, ‘After the judge was gone from the bench, several protestant gentlemen and others, who had heard my trial, came to me, though strangers, and told me how sorry they were for me. To whom with thanks I replied, that I was troubled they should grieve for me or my condition, who was joyful for it myself: for I told them, I had professed this faith and religion all my life-time, which I was as sure to be true, as I was sure of the truth of God's word, on which it was grounded; and therefore in it I deposed my soul, and eternal life and happiness; and therefore should I fear to lose my temporal life for this faith, whereon my eternal life depends, I should be worse than an infidel; and whosoever should prefer the life of their bodies before their faith, their religion, or conscience, they were worse than heathens. For my own part, I told them, I was as ready, by God's grace, to die to-morrow, as I had been to receive the sentence of death to-day, and as willingly, as if I had a grant of the greatest dukedom.’

Father Wall was returned to prison, and after some time was sent for up to London, as were also several other priests, who were under condemnation for their character. What passed here, we learn from the following letter, which he wrote after his return to the country, July 18, to Mr. Charles Trinder, counsellor, afterwards serjeant at law.

SIR,

‘With my service I return you thanks for the twenty shillings. I am safe returned from London, whither I was sent to be examined by Mr. Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale and Prance, to see if any of them had any thing against me, as guilty of, concerning these great disturbances of the times. I was very strictly examined by all four, several times over, in that month I stayed at London; and thanks be to God, I was, after the last examination, publicly declared innocent and free of all plots whatever, by Mr. Bedloe, who examined me last; and he was so kind to me, that he told me publicly, that if I would but comply in matter of religion, that he would pawn his life for me, that for all I was condemned, yet I

‘ should not die. I was also offered the same after my first examina-
 ‘ tion, though I should have been never so guilty, if I would have
 ‘ done what was against my conscience. But I told them, I would
 ‘ not buy my life at so dear a rate, as to wrong my conscience. How
 ‘ God will please to dispose of all us that are condemned, none know.
 ‘ Some think it is concluded we must all die ; and yet because it will
 ‘ not appear grateful in the eyes of rational and moral men, to see
 ‘ us die merely for conscience sake, I have been several times informed
 ‘ from London, since I came down, that, if possible, some will do
 ‘ their best to bring some of us, one way or other into a plot, though
 ‘ we have all at London been declared innocent after strict examina-
 ‘ tion. God’s will be done. The greater the injury and injustice
 ‘ done against us by men to take away our lives, the greater our glory
 ‘ in eternal life before God. This is the last persecution that will be
 ‘ in England ; therefore I hope God will give all his holy grace to
 ‘ make the best use of it. All these things have been sufficiently pro-
 ‘ phesied long since ; and I do no way question the truth ; though it is
 ‘ like some will suffer first, of whom I have a strong imagination I shall
 ‘ be one. God’s will be done in earth as it is in heaven, and in mercy
 ‘ bring me happy thither.’ I subscribe, Sir, your faithful servant,

FRANCIS WEBB.

At the bottom of this letter serjeant Trinder has added what follows:
 ‘ This holy priest, sometimes called Mr. Johnson, whose true name
 ‘ was Wall, was martyred at Worcester, &c. He was equally cou-
 ‘ rageous and chearful at his apprehension, during his imprisonment,
 ‘ at his trial, and to his very death. A true account of all which,
 ‘ might deservedly fill a volume, &c.’ So he.

At length, after four months had passed from his condemnation,
 the confessor was ordered to be executed. Father William Levison,
 who visited him in prison, has given the following account of him, in
 a letter preserved by the English Franciscans, of which I have a copy ;
 ‘ Of late, says he, I was desired, and willingly went, to visit our
 ‘ friend, Mr. Webb “father Wall” prisoner at Worcester, whose exe-
 ‘ cution drew near at hand. I came to him two days before it, and
 ‘ found him a chearful sufferer of his present imprisonment, and ra-
 ‘ vished, as it were, with joy, with the future hopes of dying for so
 ‘ good a cause. I found, contrary to both his and my expectation, the
 ‘ favour of being with him alone ; and the day before his execution, I
 ‘ enjoyed that privilege for the space of four or five hours together ;
 ‘ during which time I heard his confession, and communicated him to
 ‘ his great joy and satisfaction. I ventured likewise, through his de-
 ‘ sire, to be present at his execution, and placed myself boldly next to
 ‘ the under-sheriff, near the gallows, where I had the opportunity of
 ‘ giving him the last absolution, just as he was turned off the ladder.
 ‘ During his imprisonment, he carried himself like a true servant and
 ‘ disciple of his crucified master, thirsting after nothing more than the
 ‘ shedding of his blood for the love of his God ; which he performed
 ‘ with a courage and chearfulness becoming a valiant soldier of Christ,
 ‘ to the great edification of all catholics, and admiration of all protes-
 ‘ tants, the rational and moderate part especially, who shewed a great
 ‘ sense of sorrow for his death ; decrying the cruelty of putting men

to death for priesthood and religion. He is the first that ever suffered at Worcester since the catholic religion entered into this nation, which he seemed with joy to tell me before his execution. He was quartered, and his head separated from his body, according to his sentence. His body was permitted to be buried, and was accompanied by the catholics of the town to St. Oswald's church-yard, where he lies interred. His head I got privately, and conveyed it to Mr. Randolph, who will be careful to keep it till opportunity serves to transport it to Douay, &c. The miseries we here lie under are great, and I hope our brothers in safety will be mindful of our condition in their best thoughts, and beg of God we may chearfully bear our crosses, and if it be his holy will, courageously sacrifice our lives in defence of our religion, which is the earnest desire of, &c. William Levison, August 25, 1679.'

Father Wall suffered at Worcester, August the 22d, being the Octave day of the assumption of the blessed virgin. His head is kept in the cloister of the English friars at Douay; and it was remarked for some time after, that his grave, where his body lies at Worcester, appeared green, whereas the rest of the church-yard was all bare, it being a constant thoroughfare.

The confessor, before his death, composed a long speech, which he delivered to a friend to be printed; in which he declares his faith, hope, and charity, and strongly recommends these divine virtues; he professes his abhorrence, and that of the catholic church, of all plots and conspiracies, or the concealing any such conspiracies, &c. he implores God's mercy for himself, for the whole church, for the king and kingdom, and for his persecutors, whom he forgives from his heart, and asks pardon of all whom he had any way offended: and finally offers up his death to God, and commends his soul into his hands.

Father Levison, or Lewson, in his letter above quoted, makes mention also of the sufferings of his brother Francis Levison, a priest of the same order, called in religion, father *Ignatius a S. Clara*. 'My poor brother, says he, continues still a close prisoner, and complains much of want. The justice who committed him, has endeavoured to bribe witnesses to swear against him, but as yet cannot prevail with any; what will be the event of these proceedings only God knows,' &c. After 14 months' close confinement, he died in prison a confessor of Christ, February 11, 1679-80. *Ætatis 34, religionis 16.*

207. * *John Kemble, or Kimble, Priest.*

ON the same day as father Wall was executed at Worcester for his priestly character and his religion, Mr. Kemble, a priest of the secular clergy, suffered at Hereford for the same cause. He was eighty years old, according to a short printed account I have of him, and had been a priest and a missionary, in a great variety of times, four and fifty years. I find in the diary of Douay college, anno 1625, John Kimble, of the diocese of Hereford, ordained priest the 23d of February,

* From Mr. Kemble's printed speech; the Douay diary; and the testimonies of those that knew him.

singing his first mass the 2d of March, and sent upon the English mission the 4th of June, where his residence was in his native country of Herefordshire. In the mission he was always esteemed a very pious and zealous labourer. The following account of him was sent me from a worthy prelate in that part of the kingdom, taken from the informations of those that had known him.

‘ I have made all the enquiry I could about Mr. Kemble; what I
 ‘ could learn from those who particularly knew him, is as follows:—
 ‘ He was taken at Pembridge castle, in the parish of Welsh-Newton
 ‘ in Herefordshire, by captain Scudamore of Kentchurch: he was ap-
 ‘ prized of some being coming to take him; but replied, that accord-
 ‘ ing to the course of nature he had but few years to live; and that it
 ‘ would be an advantage to him to suffer for his religion; and there-
 ‘ fore he would not abscond. He was committed to Hereford goal;
 ‘ whence, after some time, he was ordered up to London, and thence
 ‘ remitted back again, to take his trial at Hereford. In that journey
 ‘ he suffered more than a martyrdom, on account of a great indisposi-
 ‘ tion he had, which would not permit him to ride but sideways;
 ‘ and it was on horseback he was compelled to perform the journey,
 ‘ at least great part of the way. After his return to Hereford goal,
 ‘ he was frequently visited by captain Scudamore’s children, whom he
 ‘ treated with whatever he had that was good, sent him by his friends;
 ‘ and being asked, why he gave all that to them? he made answer,
 ‘ because their father was the best friend he had in the world.

‘ He was executed on Wigmarsh, by Hereford. His head was
 ‘ cut off, his body was begged by his nephew, captain Richard Kem-
 ‘ ble, who put it into a coffin, carried it to Welsh-Newton, buried it in
 ‘ the church-yard there, and erected a tomb over it. Some time after,
 ‘ it happened that captain Scudamore’s daughter had a violent sore
 ‘ throat, which was apprehended dangerous, and being advised by a
 ‘ devout catholic, who had preserved the cord in which Mr. Kemble
 ‘ was hanged, to put that cord to her neck, upon the application of
 ‘ it she was immediately cured. Some neighbouring catholics resort to
 ‘ his tomb on the 22d of August, the day on which he suffered, to
 ‘ pay their devotions: once I myself being present, with three or
 ‘ four of the family of P —, and some others, Mrs. Catharine Scu-
 ‘ damore, who for some time had been extraordinary deaf, and at that
 ‘ time was involved in some difficulties, of which she could not be
 ‘ made sensible, by reason of her deafness, stayed at her prayers by
 ‘ the tomb, after the rest of the company were retired for their
 ‘ refreshment to an inn, not far from the church-yard; and when she
 ‘ came to them, she cried out, Lord! I have recovered my hearing;
 ‘ and effectually she heard as well as any one in the company. These
 ‘ are all the particulars I could learn, more than that he was always
 ‘ a pious and zealous good missionary.’ So far my right reverend cor-
 ‘ respondent. The following speech was published in print not long
 after Mr. Kemble’s execution.

*The last speech of Mr. John Kemble, a clergyman, which he spoke in the
 cart upon Wigmarsh, by Hereford, August 22, 1679.*

‘ It will be expected I should say something; but as I am an
 ‘ old man, it cannot be much; not having any concern in the plot,

‘neither indeed believing there is any. Oates and Bedloe not being able to charge me with any thing when I was brought up to London, though they were with me, makes it evident, that I die only for professing the old Roman catholic religion, which was the religion that first made this kingdom christian; and whoever intends to be saved must die in that religion. I beg of all whom I have offended, either by thought, word, or deed, to forgive me; for I do heartily forgive all those that have been instrumental or desirous of my death.’

Then turning to the executioner, he took him by the hand, and calling him by his name, *honest Anthony*, said he, *my friend Anthony, be not afraid; do thy office, I forgive thee with all my heart, thou wilt do me a greater kindness than discourtesy.* Then he drew his cap over his eyes, and after a little meditation upon his knees, and offering himself up to Almighty God, he told them, they might do their office when they pleased. In conclusion, after he had thrice repeated, with great fervor, those words, *in manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum, into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit*, the cart was drawn away, and he hanged at least half an hour before he was quite dead, the knot of the rope not being rightly applied; though this, as it is believed, happened rather by accident than design. The protestants that were spectators of the exit acknowledged, that they never saw one die so like a gentleman, and so like a christian.

208. * *Charles Baker, alias David Lewis, Priest, S. J.*

CHARLES Baker, commonly known upon the mission by the name of David Lewis, was born in Monmouthshire in 1617, and brought up in the protestant religion till he was about 19 years of age; when being a student of the law, he was reconciled to the catholic church; and after two years sent by his uncle, a priest of the society, to the English college of Rome, where he was received a convictor, November 6, 1638. Here he went through the course of his studies, having the character in the college diary of prudent and pious; and being made priest July 20, 1642, at the end of his divinity he entered into the society *anno* 1645, and made his noviceship amongst the Italian jesuits in their noviciate of St. Andrew's.

He was sent upon the English mission *anno* 1648, where he officiated in South Wales for one and thirty years, being a zealous seeker after the lost sheep, fearless in dangers, patient in labours and sufferings, and so charitable to his indigent neighbours, as to be commonly called the father of the poor. He was apprehended on the 17th of November, 1678, being Sunday morning, a little before day, by six armed men, (sent by two neighbouring justices of peace) in a little house in the parish of St. Michael Lantarnam, in Monmouthshire, and carried that day to Abergavenny, and the next day committed to Monmouth gaol, where he was kept close confined in a room by himself, (for which

* From a printed relation of his imprisonment and trial, penned by himself; his printed speech; Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, p. 181; and the records of the noviciate of St. Andrew's, at Rome.

he was obliged to pay 14s. a week) locked up at night, and barred up by day.

On the 13th of January 1678-9, he was removed from Monmouth to Usk. It snowing hard that day, the deputy-sheriff, and the chief jailor, who accompanied him, made a halt at Ragland, to warm and refresh themselves; whilst they were here, the confessor was informed, that father Ignatius, *alias* Walter Price, lay a dying about a mile off, having undergone much hardship both of hunger and cold, by flying from barn to barn, from cottage to cottage, being violently persecuted, and strictly searched after as a popish priest, and that by his own kinsman. Father Baker, being able to do no more, ~~sent~~ *sent* him his best wishes for his soul's happy passage out of this turbulent world to an eternity of rest; and so went forward with his keepers to his new prison of Usk, where three days after he received the news of his blessed death. In this prison the confessor found several catholics confined for their conscience, with whom he remained till his trial in the Lenten assizes.

On the 28th of March, 1679, the assizes began at Monmouth, and on the following day father Baker was brought to the bar, to be tried upon an indictment of high-treason, for having taken orders in the church of Rome, and remaining in England contrary to the statute of Elizabeth 27. He pleaded not guilty. Five or six witnesses deposed against him, that they had seen him say mass, and perform the rest of the priestly functions. Father Baker made a handsome defence, and had very material exceptions against the principal witnesses; but, nevertheless, was brought in guilty by the jury, and received sentence of death the same day, in the usual form, from sir Robert Atkins the judge; upon which he made a low bow, and was returned to prison.

After this he was sent up to London, and there, in Newgate, strictly examined concerning the pretended plot; Oates, Bedloe, Dugdale, and Prance, being brought to confront him, but they could not charge him with any guilt in that kind. My lord Shaftsbury suggested to him, that he might both save his life, and improve his fortune, if he would make some discovery of the plot, or conform in matters of religion: but, *discover plot*, says he in his dying speech, *I could not, for I knew of none; and conform I would not, for it was against my conscience*; wherefore he was sent back to the country, where he remained three months longer in prison, and then was ordered for execution.

It was on the 27th of August, 1679, he was drawn to the gallows at Uske, in Monmouthshire, where he made a long speech to a numerous auditory, assembled on that occasion. 'Here is,' said he, 'a numerous assembly,—the great Saviour of the world save every soul of you all: I believe you are here met, not only to see a fellow-native die, but also with expectation to hear a dying fellow-native speak.—*Let none of you suffer as a murderer, or a thief, but if as a christian, let him not be ashamed, 1 St. Peter iv.*—I suffer not as a murderer, thief, or such like malefactor, but as a christian, and therefore am not ashamed.'

He proceeds to let his auditors know, how unjustly he had been charged, in a vile pamphlet, of having cheated a poor woman of 30l. under a pretence of delivering her father's soul out of purgatory; which,

as he declares, was no better than mere fiction and malice, without the least appearance of truth. And as to the plot, he calls God to witness, that he never heard or knew any thing of it, till public fame had spread it over the country. And that for his part, none of the king's witnesses, when confronted with him in Newgate, could pretend to charge him with any such guilt: that he ever detested king-killing doctrine, as opposite to the principles of the catholic religion, and condemned by the council of Constance; and in testimony of his loyalty, he heartily prayed for the king; adding, that his religion alone was the cause for which he was to die.

'My religion,' says he, 'is the Roman catholic; in it I have lived above these forty years; in it I now die, and so fixedly die, that if all the good things in this world were offered me to renounce it, all should not remove me one hair's breadth from my Roman catholic faith. A Roman catholic I am; a Roman catholic priest I am; a Roman catholic priest of that religious order, called the society of Jesus, I am; and I bless God who first called me, and I bless the hour in which I was first called both unto faith and function. Please now to observe, I was condemned for reading mass, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, &c. As for reading the mass, it was the old, and still is the accustomed and laudable liturgy of the holy church; and all the other acts, are acts of religion tending to the worship of God, and therefore dying for this I die for religion;—and dying upon so good a score, as far as human frailty permits, I die with alacrity interior and exterior: from the abundance of the heart let not only mouths but faces also speak.

'Here, methinks, I feel flesh and blood ready to burst into loud cries;—blood for blood, life for life. No, crieth holy gospel, *forgive, and you shall be forgiven; pray for those that persecute you; love your enemies*; and I profess myself as a child of the gospel, and the gospel I obey. Whomsoever present or absent, I have ever offended, I humbly desire them to forgive me. As for my enemies, I freely forgive them all; my neighbours that betrayed me, the justices that committed me, &c. but singularly and especially, I forgive my capital persecutor, who hath been so long thirsting after my blood; from my soul I forgive him, and wish his soul so well, that were it in my power, I would seat him a seraphim in heaven.—*Father forgive them, they know not what they do.*

'And with reason I love them also, "my persecutors," for though they have done themselves a vast soul-prejudice, yet they have done me an incomparable favour, which I shall eternally acknowledge. But chiefly I love them for his sake, who said, *love your enemies*; and in testimony of my love, I wish them (and it is the best of wishes) from the centre of my soul, I wish them a good eternity. O eternity! eternity! how momentaneous are the glories, riches, and pleasures of this world? and how desirable art thou, O endless eternity? And for my said enemies attaining thereunto, I humbly beseech God to give them the grace of a true repentance, before they and this world part.'

Then addressing himself to the catholics, 'friends,' said he, '*fear God, honour your king*; be firm in your faith; avoid mortal sin, by

‘ frequenting the sacraments of holy church ; patiently bear your persecutions and afflictions ; forgive your enemies ; your sufferings are great ; I say, be firm in your faith to the end, yea, even to death ; then shall you heap unto yourselves celestial treasures in the heavenly Jerusalem, where no thief robbeth, no moth eateth, and no rust consumeth ; and have that blessed saying of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, always in your memory, which I heartily recommend to you, viz. *let none of you suffer as a murderer or a thief ; but if as a christian let him not be ashamed, but glorify God in his name.*’ Having finished his speech to men, he applied himself to God in the following prayers and ejaculations, which he pronounced aloud.

‘ *Sovereign Lord God, eternal Father of heaven, creator of all, conservator of all, sole author of grace and glory, with prostrate heart I adore thee ; and thee only I adore as God. The giving of divine honour to any creature of highest degree, I abhor and detest as damnable idolatry.—Incarnate Son of God, true God, thou hast purchased a church here upon earth with thy sacred blood, and planted it with thy sacred labours ; a church, one, holy, catholic, and apostolic ; a church to continue to the consummation of the world : whatever that church of thine hath by revelation from thee, whatever that church of thine hath taught me, and commanded me to believe, I believe it to an iota.—God Holy Ghost, who maketh thy sun to shine on good and bad, thy rain to fall on the just and unjust, I praise thy holy name, and thank thee for the innumerable benefits thou hast been pleased to bestow and confer upon me, thy unworthy servant, the 63 years I now have lived on earth.—O holy trinity, three persons, and one God, from the bottom of my heart I am sorry that ever I have offended thee, my good God, even to an idle word ; yet through thy mercy, my God, and the merits of my Redeemer, I strongly hope for an eternal salvation. Sweet Jesus receive my soul. And so he was executed.*’

Father Anthony Hunter, a priest of the same society, who also was under sentence of death for his character, relates in a manuscript which I have before me, that the bowels of father Baker, though they were cast into a greater fire than ordinary, and several faggots flung upon them, were not consumed, nor so much as altered by the flames ; so that they were taken up and buried with his body.

209. * *William Lloyd, Priest and Confessor.*

WILLIAM Lloyd, the son of Walter Lloyd, esq. was born in Carmarthenshire of Wales, about the year 1610. He seems to have been a convert to the catholic religion, and not to have gone abroad till he was come to man’s estate. He was received a convictor in the college of Lisbon, October 1, 1635, with this character in the register of the house, that he was a very hopeful young man, but labouring under a continual indisposition, or pain in the stomach. However he applied himself to his studies, and went through the usual course of philosophy and divinity, and publicly maintained, at sundry times, theses in both these faculties, with very great applause. He was ordained priest the

* From the diary or register of the English college of Lisbon, and from his speech.

26th of April, 1639, but remained in the college till the 29th of June, 1642; at which time he went to Paris. I have not found when he entered upon the English mission, nor the particulars of his missionary labours.

Soon after the breaking out of Oates's plot, he fell into the hands of the persecutors, and was brought to his trial at Brecknock, upon an indictment of high treason, for having taken orders in the Roman church, and remaining in this realm contrary to the statute of the 27th of Elizabeth. The witnesses that appeared against him made oath, that he had administered the sacraments according to the order and manner of the catholic church; upon which he was found guilty by his jury, and sentenced to die as in cases of high treason. The day was appointed for his execution, but he died in bonds six days before, leaving behind him the following speech, which he designed to have delivered at the the gallows.

The last speech of Mr. William Lloyd, a clergyman, who was tried and condemned at Brecknock, in South Wales, anno Dom. 1679, and died in prison there a week before he was executed, and left this speech in writing.

In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Dearly beloved Countrymen,—It is, even by God's holy providence, that now I am come to the last hour of my mortal life in this miserable world, and therefore am desirous to give an account to all the world, in what faith and religion I lived while I was in this world, and in which I am resolved to depart out of this world, which is the only holy catholic and apostolical faith and religion, (that is,) the very same in all points as the apostles themselves lived and died in, after they received the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour promised to send them, to guide them into all truth, and to remain with his church for ever; and I do renounce all errors and mistakes contrary to the same faith and religion, holding all the holy word of God, written or unwritten, to be true, and revealed to the patriarchs and prophets in the time of the old testament, as also revealed by our Saviour Jesus Christ to his apostles and disciples in the new testament, and by their successors declared to the rest of the world in the same right sense, as the Holy Ghost, according to our Saviour's promise, directed them to teach all truth, which is the only faith in which a man can be saved, and no other; for it is said in the holy scripture, that there is but one faith, one God, and one baptism; and St. Paul in another place expressly saith, that without faith it is impossible to please God; and every man by natural reason, may easily know, that without pleasing God no man can be saved; for no man can possibly be saved, in spite of God Almighty (that is) whether he will or no. Therefore seeing none can be saved without pleasing God, and that none can please God without faith; and seeing there is no faith but one, and that one is that which our Saviour Christ taught to his apostles, it behoveth every man to find it out, and live and die in it, although they lose all that they have in the world, and their lives to boot, seeing that it is of no small importance to be saved or damned for ever. And to find out that apostolic faith, without which no man can please God, nor consequently be saved, we must find out the eldest faith amongst christians, which was planted by our Saviour himself amongst his apos-

ties, which doth still last, and will last for ever; for our Saviour promised to be with his church to the world's end, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And this is the reason why I made choice to embrace it, and all others ought to make choice of and embrace the same, to live and die in, to the intent we may be saved souls for ever: detesting (as I said before) all mistakes and errors contrary to the said one holy catholic apostolic christian faith, and Roman religion. Nothing can be held to be a true article of faith, but what is firmly grounded upon the holy word of God, taken in the right sense, by the guidance of the Holy Ghost; the rest of controversies may be disputed, but not believed, by divine faith.

Now do I further declare, that I being of this holy faith and religion, living peaceably in the commonwealth all the days of my life, have been taken suspected to be a popish priest, and have been committed to prison, and sentenced to die upon that account, for serving God, and administering the holy sacraments according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman church, and for nothing else proved against me; and submitting myself to God's holy will, and all the penalties of the present laws of the kingdom relating thereto, I am heartily willing, by God's holy grace, to suffer death upon that account, hoping to be a saved soul by the goodness and mercy of God, and the merits and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And to the intent that I may depart out of this world in love and charity, I do heartily forgive all that have in any wise offended me, and beg pardon and forgiveness of all those that I have any wise offended; and especially, I beg pardon of God Almighty, for all my heinous offences committed against his Divine Majesty in thought, word, and deed, for which I am heartily sorry, and with the help of his grace, if they were yet undone, I would do my best never to do them; and this not only for fear of being punished for my sins, but out of the hearty love I bear to my dear God, who hath created me, and redeemed me with his most bitter passion, in the person of our Saviour true God and man (and hath sanctified me with the grace of the Holy Ghost in soul and body.) As for the subversion of government, or conspiring against his majesty's life, I do sincerely protest, in the presence of Almighty God, as I hope to be a saved soul, that I had not the least knowledge of it till it was noised abroad amongst the common people, nor did I at any time after know any thing of it, otherwise than by common report after discovery, but was daily wont to pray for his majesty, and his loyal consort; and so (God willing) intend to continue as long as I have breath, begging of God Almighty to send his majesty a prosperous reign whilst he lives in this world, and after this miserable life, to grant them both eternal crowns in everlasting bliss: and the same everlasting happiness I wish to my own soul, I wish also to my enemies, to all that are here present, and the rest of the world. Amen. He was aged about 70 years.

There were many other priests, who, in the heat of this persecution, especially during the years 1679 and 1680, were arraigned and condemned, merely for their priestly character. Those whose names I have been able to recover, were,

1. Placidus Adelham, or Adland, who from a protestant minister

became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, and was professed in the monastery of Paris. He was a great reader and admirer of the works of St. Augustin; was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey merely as a priest, Jan. 17, 1678-9, but was reprieved and died in prison.

2. Andrew Brommich, priest, of the college of Lisbon. He was tried and condemned at Stafford, August 13, 1679, but was reprieved and survived the storm.

3. William Atkins was tried and condemned at the same time and place. His printed trial calls him a seminary priest, but he was indeed of the Society of Jesus. He died in prison, March 7, 1680-1, being 80 years of age, only regretting, that he was not so happy as to shed his blood in his Master's cause, which he very much desired.

4. Richard Birket, priest, of the secular clergy, but of what college I have not found. He was tried and condemned at Lancaster, and died in prison a confessor of Christ.

5. Richard Fletcher, alias Barton, a priest of Douay college. He was also tried and condemned at the same time at Lancaster, but outlived the persecution.

6. John Penketh, priest, S. J. was also tried and condemned at the same time and place, but lived to see better times. He was some time alumnus of the college of Rome.

7. George Busby, priest, S. J. He was tried and condemned at Derby, but pardoned by the king.

8. James Corker, priest, and monk of the abbey of Lambspring.—He was first tried for the plot, of which he was accused by Oates and Bedloe, but acquitted by the jury; then was tried as a priest, and condemned January 17, 1679-80. He was reprieved, and continued prisoner till king James's accession to the throne, and in prison reconciled great numbers to the catholic church. He was afterwards made abbot, first of Cismar, then of Lambspring, which dignity he resigned, and ended his days at Paddington, near London, much esteemed by all that knew him, for his virtue and sanctity.

9. William Nappier, alias Russel, called in religion father Marianus, a native of Oxford, and a father of the holy order of St. Francis. He was tried and condemned at the Old Bailey, at the same time with Mr. Corker, but reprieved, and after a long imprisonment sent abroad; where he died in the franciscan convent at Douay, in 1693, aged seventy-eight.

10. Charles Parry, priest, as I take it, of the secular clergy. He was tried and condemned at the same time and place. When he heard the sentence, he cried out, *Te Deum Laudamus*, &c. Whether he died in prison, or survived the storm, I have not learnt.

11. Henry Starkey. He was younger brother to John Starkey, of Darley in Cheshire, esq. was one of the first that appeared in arms for the king in the civil wars, in whose service he lost 4000l. and one of his legs, which was taken off by a cannon ball. Being sent into banishment, he resumed his studies, and by dispensation was made priest. He was tried and condemned for his character, at the same time and place with Mr. Corker, &c. but was reprieved.

12. Lionel Anderson, *alias* Munson. He was a gentleman's son of Lincolnshire, of a good estate, but becoming a catholic, relinquished all his worldly pretensions, and entered into the holy order of St. Dominick, and was ordained priest. He was tried and condemned at the same time and place with Mr. Corker, &c. but was pardoned by the king.

13. William Wall, *alias* Marsh and Marshall. He was brother to father John Wall, who suffered at Worcester; was born in Lancashire, studied his humanity at St. Omer's, his philosophy at Rome, his divinity partly at Rome, and partly at Douay. From Douay he went upon the mission in 1652; but afterwards going over again, he became a monk of the venerable order of St. Bennet, in the abbey of Lamb-spring. He was arraigned upon the testimony of Oates and Bedloe for the plot with father Corker, made a brave defence, and was found *not guilty*; but afterwards was tried and condemned for a priest, in the company of the same father Corker, but was reprieved, and survived the persecution.

With these six last named, was arraigned also Mr. David Joseph Kemish, priest, but his trial was put off by reason of his sickness. Whether he died in prison, or survived, I cannot learn. Also Mr. Alexander Lumsden was tried on the same day with the six above-mentioned. He was a native of Aberdeen in Scotland, and a Dominican friar; was found to be a priest, but being a Scotchman, the jury brought in their verdict *special*, and he was not sentenced to die. Besides these, I have met with the names of some others, that felt in like manner the fury of this persecution: as James Baker, *alias* Hesketh, priest, condemned at the Old Bailey, February 27, 1679-80. Richard Lacy, priest, of the society of Jesus, who died also in prison at London, March 11, the same year. Edward Turner, priest, of the same society, who died also in prison at London, in 1681. William Allison, priest, who died prisoner in York castle. William Bennet, priest, S. J. who was also condemned in this persecution, but lived to be condemned a second time, under king William, and died a prisoner at Leicester in 1691. Bennet Constable, priest, O. S. B. who died in Durham gaol, 1683. Not to speak of divers of the catholic laity, who expired in like manner in prison, confined for their conscience.

210. * *Thomas Thwing, Priest.*—1680.

THOMAS Thwing, son of George Thwing, esq. of an ancient Yorkshire family, was born at Heworth near York, in the year 1635. He performed his studies abroad in the English college of Douay, where also he received all his orders, and from thence was sent priest upon the English mission in 1665, where he laboured in the vineyard of his Lord for 15 years. He was apprehended in the time of Oates's plot, and was accused by two knights of the post, Bolron and Mowbray, or Maybury, of having been at several meetings or consults at Barnborough-hall, the seat of his uncle sir Thomas Gascoigne; and there conspiring with the said sir Thomas, sir Miles Stapylton, the lady Tempest, and

* From his printed trial and speech.

others, to kill the king, and extirpate the protestant religion. Bolron had formerly been in the service of sir Thomas, as steward of his coal-pits, and having cheated him of great sums of money was thereupon discharged; and being also sued by him, vowed revenge, left his religion, and accused his master, and all his relations of the plot. Maybury had also been a servant to sir Thomas, and had been guilty of divers villanies. But now, as Mr. Salmon takes notice, in his examination of bishop Burnet's history, p. 880, the great encouragement and caresses Oates and Bedloe met with, occasioned others of the like stamp to spring up in all parts of the kingdom, pretending to make discoveries of plots, many of whom, says he, were so plainly detected, that they could obtain no credit even in those believing times, which was indeed the case of these two wretches; for their story was altogether incredible; and sir Thomas Gascoigne, and the others by them accused, were acquitted. Only Mr. Thwing, being a priest, did not meet with the same justice.—He was brought to his trial at York, July 29, 1680, and upon the testimony of the miscreants above mentioned, was found guilty by the jury; and on the 2d of August following received sentence of death. To which he calmly replied, *innocens ego sum*, I am innocent. He was reprieved for a while, viz. till the 23d of October; and then, by an order of the council, was executed according to sentence. He was drawn, hanged, and quartered at York, having first protested his innocence of all that was sworn against him, and spoke as follows:

This sudden news of my execution (after my reprieve) coming so unexpectedly, made me fear I should have more severity shewed me than has been to others; and, consequently, that I should not have full liberty to declare my mind at the place of my execution; therefore I have briefly expressed myself in writing, as follows:—*First*, as I hope for salvation of my soul by the benefit of the blood and passion of my blessed Saviour, I most sincerely protest, that what Robert Bolron and Laurence Mowbray swore against me, was absolutely false; for here, in the presence of the eternal God, I declare I never knew of any consult at Barnbow, the least prejudicial to the king or kingdom; nor was I ever at any such consult or meeting with sir Thomas Gascoigne, Mr. Gascoigne his son, sir Miles Stapylton, the lady Tempest, Mr. Ingleby, or any other, where any thing was ever treated, spoken, or written, about killing the king, or alteration of the government; nor did I ever see or know of any list of such names of persons mentioned and sworn by them against me.

Secondly, upon my salvation I declare, I never have been in my whole life-time guilty, even so much as in thought, of any treason against his majesty or the kingdom, it being directly contrary to the principles of our faith. *Thirdly*, that though I have, and do declare against the oath of allegiance, as it is worded, yet it is only by reason of some clauses therein contained, not pertaining to allegiance; and therefore, if an oath, containing nothing but allegiance, had been legally tendered me, I should have thought it a sin to have refused it. *Lastly*, I acknowledge myself a priest, and to have about 15 years performed a priest's function; which I am so far from denying, that I think it the greatest honour imaginable.

And now, dear countrymen, having made this protestation in the most plain terms I could, without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, I appeal to the eternal Judge, whether good christians ought not to believe what is here in this manner sworn by me in my present circumstance, rather than what was sworn by my accusers: whom, notwithstanding, I beg of Almighty God to forgive: as also the jury, and all others who have been in any kind concurring to my death.

Having full time allowed him, he spoke much more to the same effect, with a clear voice, and a countenance remarkably chearful; declaring his innocence as to any plot, his loyalty to the king, his charity to his neighbours; and expressing his love and piety to God in fervent prayers and ejaculations. He concluded with these prophetic words: 'though I know the affairs of the kingdom are in a bad posture, yet I hope they will be cleared ere long, and then the actors thereof will be more fully known.' Just as he went off the ladder, he was distinctly heard to say these words, *sweet Jesus receive my soul*.

He suffered at York October 23, 1680, in the 46th year of his age. His quartered body was interred by his friends, and a copper plate buried with him, with the following Latin inscription. R. D. Thomas Thwing de Heworth, coll. Anglo-Duaceni sacerdos, post annos 15 in missione Anglicanâ transactus, eboraci condemnatus & martyrio affectus est Octob. 23, 1680.—A duobus falsis testibus, ob crimen conspirationis tunc temporis catholicis malitiosè impositum.

211. * *William Viscount Stafford*.

WILLIAM Howard Viscount Stafford, was second son to Thomas earl of Arundel, and uncle to Thomas and Henry Dukes of Norfolk. In his youth he was educated with all care and industry imaginable, to improve in him the endowments of nature and grace. He was ever held to be of a generous disposition, very charitable, devout, sober, inoffensive in words, and a lover of justice. When he arrived to years of maturity, he married Mary, descended from the ancient dukes of Buckingham, grand-daughter to Edward, sister and sole heiress to Henry lord Stafford, to whose title he succeeded, being created baron by king Charles I. *anno* 1640, and soon after viscount Stafford. During the time of the civil wars he suffered much for his loyalty to the king, always behaving himself with that courage and constancy, as became a nobleman, a good christian; and a faithful subject. After king Charles II'd's. restoration he lived in peace, plenty, and happiness; being blessed with a most virtuous lady to his wife, and many pious and dutiful children; in which state he remained till the 66th year of his age, when about Michaelmas, *anno* 1678, he was accused by Titus Oates of the plot, together with the lords Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis.

My lord Stafford, though he immediately heard of the accusation, relying on his own innocence, never left his family, nor withdrew himself from his ordinary known acquaintance and affairs, till on the

* From Stafford's Memoirs, published 1681; his printed trial and speech, &c.

‘ 25th of Octob. he was sent prisoner to the King’s-Bench, and from thence
 ‘ soon after to the Tower, where he remained above two years, and then
 ‘ was brought to his trial before the house of peers, November 30,
 ‘ 1680, upon an impeachment in the name of the commons of England.’

The first day was spent in allegations to prove a plot in general, by the depositions of Oates, Dugdale, Smith, Jennison, &c. But as these did not touch my lord Stafford in particular, the next day the managers for the house of commons, (who were of the most eloquent, and the most able lawyers in the nation,) began to attack my lord more directly by the testimonies of Oates, Dugdale, and Tuberville, having first taken care that none of his council should stand near to prompt or advise him what to answer, or what exceptions to make to their depositions. These managers with all imaginable art and malice baited the good old gentleman for four whole days; who, though otherwise not the best qualified, as it was thought, for such a task, and upon that account pitched upon, rather than any of the other lords then prisoners, to be first brought to his trial; yet, such was the force of truth and innocence, made so good a defence, (notwithstanding the great fatigue of so many days pleading, and all the eloquence employed against him) and brought such and so just exceptions against the witnesses, and such proofs of their being perjured villains, that every unprejudiced man that will but read the memoirs of his trial, must agree that he was very unjustly condemned. However, such was the iniquity of the times, and the aversion to his religion, he was found guilty by 55 lords, and acquitted only by 31: so that sentence was passed upon him by the lord high steward. ‘ His behaviour throughout,’ says the continuator of Baker, p. 705, ‘ was very composed and affecting; denying in the most solemn manner, and with all the marks of sincerity, every thing that ‘ had been sworn against him.’ So this protestant historian, who adds, in the following page, that at his death, he behaved himself in a manner becoming a good man and a good christian, and still denied to the last the treason which he had been charged with.

‘ When the votes were passed, the lord high steward declared to ‘ the prisoner, *he was found guilty of the high treason whereof he was ‘ impeached.* To which my lord Stafford replied, *God’s holy name be ‘ praised for it. I confess I am surprized at it, for I did not expect it. ‘ But God’s will be done, and your lordships’; I will not murmur at it. ‘ God forgive those who have falsely sworn against me.* Sentence was pronounced according to the usual form as in cases of treason: which my lord received with a meek and resigned countenance, and then declared in the presence of Almighty God, he had no manner of malice in his heart to them that had condemned him, but freely forgave them all.

After his return to the tower, he employed the greatest part of his time, till his end, in recollection and devotion, by which means he seemed to receive a daily increase both of courage and comfort. The hours he spared from prayer or necessary repose, he bestowed, in part, in the entertainment of his friends, amongst whom he demeaned himself with exceeding sweetness, candour and alacrity, which was always natural to him; but was more especially remarkable after he had an assurance of his death; insomuch that he could not endure to see any in grief or dejection on his account.

On Sunday the 19th of December, the lieutenant of the tower came to my lord and told him, he was sorry he must bring him the ill news that he must die on the 29th of this month. To which message he courageously replied, I must obey. Adding those words of the psalmist, *this is the day which our Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.* Then turning to his disconsolate lady, come, said he, let us go to our prayers. And it was truly a matter of wonder, says my author, to those who lived and were conversant with him during this short remnant of his life, to see with what constancy and equal temper of mind he comported himself; what interior quiet and serenity he seemed to enjoy; what confidence he expressed in God; what charity to all, even to the worst of his enemies.

When the hour appointed for his death drew near, he expected with some impatience the arrival of Mr. lieutenant, telling his friends that were about him, he ought not to hasten his own death, yet he thought the time long till they came for him. A gentleman then with him in his chamber, put him in mind that it was a cold day, and that his lordship would do well to put on a cloak, or coat to keep him warm; he answered, he would; for, said he, I may perhaps shake for cold, but I trust in God never for fear. After some time spent in spiritual discourses, at length, about ten o'clock, word was brought him that Mr. lieutenant waited for him below: upon which he sweetly saluted his friends, bidding them not grieve for him, for this was the happiest day of all his life. Then he immediately went down and walked along by the lieutenant's chair (who had the gout) through a lane of soldiers, to the bars without the tower. There the lieutenant delivered him to the sheriffs, and they from thence guarded him to the scaffold erected on Tower-hill. Several thousands of people crowded to see him, many civilly saluted him as he passed, and few there were that seemed not to have a compassion for him.

Having mounted the scaffold, there appeared in his countenance such an unusual vivacity, such a cheerfulness, such a confidence, such a candour, as if the innocence of his soul had shined through his body. And he looked death in the face with so undaunted a resolution, as gave occasion to many to say, *grace had left in him no resentments of nature.* After a short pause viewing the people, and finding them attentive to what he should say, he stepped to one side of the scaffold, and with a graceful air, and intelligible voice, pronounced his last speech. In which,

First, he protested in the presence of the eternal God, and upon his salvation, that he was entirely innocent of the treason laid to his charge: then giving thanks to the divine Majesty, for the long time he had given him to prepare for death, he declared, that having well considered what could be the original cause of his having been so unjustly accused and condemned to death, he was convinced that it was no other than his religion; of which, he said, he had no reason to be ashamed; for that it taught nothing but the right worship of God, and due subordination to the king and the temporal laws of the kingdom. That he most firmly believed all the articles that the catholic church believes and teaches, as most consonant to the word of God; and that with the same catholic church from his heart he detested all king-killing doctrine, that his prin-

ciples were entirely loyal : and as for indulgences, dispensations, or pardons, pretended by the adversaries of the church to be given to murder, rebel, lie, forswear, or commit any other crime whatsoever ; he professed in the presence of God, and that without any equivocation or mental reservation whatsoever, that he was never taught any such thing, nor believed or practised any such thing. That if he had been really guilty of any of those crimes of which he was accused, he should have been worse than a fool, and his own self-murderer into the bargain, if he had not acknowledged his guilt ; since by so doing he might have saved his life : ‘ but had I a thousand lives, said he, I would loose them all rather than falsely accuse either myself or any other whatsoever.’

Then again declaring his abhorrence of all treason and murder, and that to his knowledge he had never spoke to, or seen Oates, or Turberville till his trial, or ever spoke with Dugdale about any treasonable matters (whom nevertheless he heartily forgave, and all others that had any hand in his death) he concluded his speech as follows.

‘ I shall end with my hearty prayers for the happiness of his majesty, that he may enjoy all happiness in this world, and in the world to come, and govern his people according to the laws of God ; and that the people may be sensible what a blessing God hath so miraculously given them, and obey him as they ought. I ask pardon with a prostrate heart of almighty God, for all the great offences I have committed against the divine Majesty ; and hope, through the merits and passion of Christ Jesus, to obtain everlasting happiness : into whose hands I commit my spirit, asking pardon of any person that I have done any wrong to, &c.

‘ I beseech God not to revenge my innocent blood upon the nation, or on those that were the cause of it, *with my last breath* ; I do *with my last breath* truly assert my innocency, and hope the omnipotent allseeing just God will deal with me accordingly.

‘ His speech being ended, he delivered several written copies of it to the sheriffs, &c. Then he returned to the middle of the scaffold ; where encompassed by his catholic friends, he kneeled down and reverently making the sign of the cross, pronounced aloud, with exceeding devotion, an excellent prayer adapted to his present circumstance, to which he joined several pious ejaculations, wherein with singular compunction and abundance of tears, he implored the divine mercy and pardon for his sins past : he recommended his soul to his dear Redeemer Jesus Christ ; he blessed his holy name ; and offered his life to him a willing sacrifice of gratitude, piety, and love.

‘ Remaining still on his knees, he again protested his innocence with all the asseverations a dying christian is capable of making. Then rising up he a second time saluted the people, telling them they had as good and gracious a king as ever reigned ; and earnestly exhorting them to be faithful and constant in their allegiance to him ; praying to God heartily to bless his majesty, and preserve him from his enemies ; to bless the nation, to bless and be with all them there present, especially all *loyal subjects* ; declaring again his own innocence : desiring the prayers of all good christians ; begging God’s mercy and pardon for his sins ; asking forgiveness of all, and beseeching the divine good-

‘ness not to revenge his innocent blood upon the whole kingdom; no not upon those by whose perjuries he was brought thither; to whom he wished from his heart no other hurt, than that they should repent and tell truth.

‘Most of the auditors seemed to be touched with a sensible compassion for him; some, as he spoke, put off their hats and bowed to him, in sign that they agreed to what he said; others by distinct acclamations answered, *we believe you my Lord, God bless you my Lord, &c.*’ Afterwards he applied himself to his friends about him, whom he lovingly embraced, and with a pleasant voice and chearful aspect took his last leave of them for this world. Then being made ready, he knelt down before the block, and making the sign of the cross, recommended himself with great devotion to the divine mercy: he kissed the block, and used several devout ejaculations, such as *sweet Jesu receive my soul: into thy hands O Lord I commend my spirit, &c.* Then laid his head down upon the block, continuing still in prayer, and expecting the stroke of death, with wonderful courage and constancy, not shewing the least sign of fear, or seeming in the least to quake or tremble. After he had laid thus a good space, finding that the headsman delayed the execution of his office, he once more raised himself up upon his knees, and with a grave and serene aspect asked, *why they stayed?* It was answered, *for a sign. What sign will you give sir?* He replied, *none at all; take your own time; God’s will be done; I am ready.* The headsman said, *I hope you forgive me;* he answered, *I do.* Then blessing himself again with the sign of the cross, he reposed his head upon the block; which with one blow was severed from his body. He was interred privately in the Tower. He lived 68 years, and suffered on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, December 29, 1680.

212. * *Dr. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland.—1681.*

THIS apostolic man was descended of an illustrious family in the kingdom of Ireland; he was educated in the catholic religion; and finding himself called to the ecclesiastical state, went abroad into Italy, and there spent almost twenty years at Rome, partly in studying and partly in teaching divinity, where also he received the degree of doctor in that faculty: and having acquired a general esteem by his virtue and learning, the See of Armagh falling vacant, he was chosen and consecrated to it, about the year 1669, and sent over to Ireland to govern the flock committed to his charge, which he did in such manner, as to give great edification to the catholics, and to be much esteemed by the very protestants: in proof of which we shall here put down what some protestant historians have written of him, upon occasion of his trial and condemnation.

And first Dr. Burnet, who was never suspected of telling a lie in favour of a papist, in his history of his own times, p. 502, acquaints us from the testimony of the earl of Essex, that Plunket was *a wise and*

* From his printed trial and speech, father Corker’s letters, and the historians of those times.

sober man, who was for living quietly and in due submission to the government, without engaging in intrigues of state: and that he was condemned only upon the testimony of some lewd priests, whom he had censured and other evidence, brutal profligate men, who found how good a trade swearing was in England, and thereupon came over and gave evidence of a plot also in Ireland. With Dr. Burnet Mr. Eachard also agrees in his history of England, 3d vol. p. 631, where he tells us, that Mr. Plunket had an attestation of his good behaviour in Ireland, under the hands of the earl of Essex and the lord Berkley, when they were lords lieutenants of that kingdom. That the accusation against him looked very romantic, not to say malicious; yet the witnesses were so perfect and so positive in their oaths, that the jury found him guilty of high-treason, and sentence passed upon him accordingly. ‘That he has been assured by an unquestionable hand, that the earl of Essex himself was so sensible of this poor man’s hardship, that he generously applied to the king for a pardon, and told his majesty the witnesses must needs be perjured; for these things sworn against him could not possibly be true. Upon which, the king in a passion said, *why did you not attest this at his trial? It would have done him good then. I dare not pardon any one.* And so concluded with the same kind of answer he had given another person formerly: *his blood be upon your head, and not upon mine.*’

But the continuator of Baker’s Chronicle is still more particular in his account of this catholic prelate, p. 710. ‘In the mean time, says he, came on the trial of Dr. Oliver Plunket, a popish titular archbishop of Armagh, who called himself primate of all Ireland. He was a worthy and good man, who, notwithstanding the high title given him, was in a very mean state of life, as having nothing to subsist on, but the contributions of a few poor clergy of his own religion in the province of Ulster, who having but little themselves could not spare much to him. In these low circumstances he lived, though meanly, quietly and contentedly, meddling with nothing but the concerns of his function, and dissuading all about him from entering into any turbulent or factious intrigues. But while the popish plot was warm, some lewd Irish priests, and others of that nation, hearing that England was disposed to hearken to good swearers, thought themselves qualified for the employment. So they came over with an account of a plot in Ireland, and were well received by lord Shaftsbury. They were also examined by the parliament, and what they said was believed. They were very profligate wretches, and some of the priests among them had been censured by Plunket for their lewdness; so partly out of revenge, and partly to keep themselves in business, they charged a plot upon that innocent quiet man; so that he was sent for over and brought to trial. The evidences swore, that upon his being made primate of Ireland, he engaged to raise sixty or seventy thousand Irish, to be ready to join with the French to destroy the protestant religion, and to get Dublin, Londonderry, and all the sea-ports into their hands; and that besides the French army, there was a Spanish army to join with them, and that the Irish clergy were to contribute to this design. Plunket in his defence alledged the improbability of all that was sworn against him; which was apparent enough. He alledged that the Irish

‘clergy were so poor, that he himself, who was the head of a whole
 ‘province, lived in a little thatched house with only one servant, having
 ‘never above sixty pounds a year income; so that neither he nor they
 ‘could be thought very likely to carry on a design of this nature. But
 ‘the fact being positively sworn against him, and the jury unacquainted
 ‘with the witnesses’ characters, and the scene of action, he was brought
 ‘in guilty and condemned. It is said that the earl of Essex was so sen-
 ‘sible of the injustice done him, &c. as above.’ So far this protestant
 historian.

But now let us hear what a catholic, and one who was intimately
 acquainted with him in the last scene of his life, viz. the learned and
 truly religious father J. Corker, writes of him in a letter penned after
 his death. ‘I cannot as yet,’ says he, ‘pretend to give you (as you de-
 ‘sire) a description of the virtues of the glorious archbishop and mar-
 ‘tyr, Dr. Oliver Plunket; I am promised the particulars of his life and
 ‘actions, both at Rome, where he studied and taught almost twenty
 ‘years; and in Ireland, where he exercised his episcopal or rather apos-
 ‘tolic function, till he became a champion of faith: but these parti-
 ‘culars are not as yet arrived at my hands. After his transportation hi-
 ‘ther, he was, as you know, close confined, and secluded from all
 ‘conversation, save that of his keepers, until his arraignment: so that
 ‘here also I am much in the dark, and can only inform you of what I
 ‘learned, as it were by chance, from the mouths of the said keepers,
 ‘viz. that he spent his time in almost continual prayer; that he fasted
 ‘usually three or four days a week, with nothing but bread; that he
 ‘appeared to them always modestly chearful, without any anguish or
 ‘concern at his danger, or streight confinement; that by his sweet and
 ‘pious demeanor, he attracted an esteem and reverence from those few
 ‘that came near him. When he was arraigned, it is true, I could
 ‘write to him, and he to me: but our letters were read, transcribed
 ‘and examined by the officers, before they were delivered to either of
 ‘us. For which cause we had little other communication than what
 ‘was necessary in order to his trial. But the trial being ended and he
 ‘condemned, his man had leave to wait on him alone in his chamber,
 ‘by whose means we had free intercourse by letters to each other. And
 ‘now it was I clearly perceived the spirit of God in him, and those
 ‘lovely fruits of the holy ghost, charity, joy, peace, &c. transparent
 ‘in his soul. And not only I, but many other catholics, who came to
 ‘receive his benediction, and were eye-witnesses (a favour not denied
 ‘to us) can testify, there appeared in his words, in his actions, in his
 ‘countenance something so divinely elevated, such a composed mixture
 ‘of chearfulness, constancy, love, sweetness, and candour, as mani-
 ‘festly denoted the divine goodness had made him fit for a victim, and
 ‘destined him for heaven. None saw or came near him, but received
 ‘new comfort, new fervour, new desires to please, serve and suffer for
 ‘Christ Jesus by his very presence. Concerning the manner and state
 ‘of his prayer, he seemed most devoted to catholic sentences taken out
 ‘of scripture, the divine office, and missal, which he made me pro-
 ‘cure for him three months before he died: upon these sentences he let
 ‘his soul dilate itself in love, following herein the sweet impulse and
 ‘dictates of the Holy Ghost, and reading his prayers writ rather in his
 ‘heart, than in his book, according to that—*unctio ejus docet vos de*

‘*omnibus*, St. John ii. 27. For this reason I suppose it was, that when
 ‘with great humility he sent me his last speech to correct, he also
 ‘writ me word, he would not at the place of execution make use of
 ‘any other set form or method of prayer, than the *Pater noster*, *Ave*
 ‘*Maria*, *Credo*, *Miserere*, *In manus tuas Domine*, &c. and for the
 ‘rest, he would breathe forth his soul in such prayers and ejaculations
 ‘as God Almighty should then inspire him withal. He continually
 ‘endeavoured to improve and advance himself in the purity of divine
 ‘love, and by consequence also in contrition for his sins past, of his
 ‘deficiency in both which this humble soul complained to me as the
 ‘only thing that troubled him. This love had extinguished in him all
 ‘fear of death, *perfecta charitas, foras mittit timorem*. A lover feareth
 ‘not, but rejoiceth at the approach of the beloved. Hence the joy
 ‘of our holy martyr seemed still to increase with his danger, and was
 ‘fully accomplished by an assurance of death. The very night before
 ‘he died, being now as it were at heart’s ease, he went to bed at
 ‘eleven o’clock, and slept quietly and soundly till four in the morn-
 ‘ing; at which time his man, who lay in the room with him, awaked
 ‘him: so little concern had he upon his spirit, or rather so much
 ‘had the loveliness of the end beautified the horror of the passage to
 ‘it. After he certainly knew God Almighty had chosen him to the
 ‘crown and dignity of martyrdom, he continually studied how to
 ‘divest himself of himself, and become more and more an entire plea-
 ‘sing and perfect holocaust: to which end, as he gave up his soul
 ‘with all its faculties to the conduct of God; so, for God’s sake, he
 ‘resigned the care and disposal of his body to unworthy me, &c.
 ‘But I neither can nor dare undertake to describe unto you, the signal
 ‘virtues of this blessed martyr. There appeared in him something
 ‘beyond expression, something more than human: the most savage
 ‘and hard-hearted people were mollified and attendered at his sight;
 ‘many protestants in my hearing wished their souls in the same state
 ‘with his: all believed him innocent, and he made catholics, even
 ‘the most timorous, in love with death. When he was carried out of
 ‘the press-yard to execution, he turned him about to our chamber
 ‘windows, and with a pleasant aspect and elevated hands gave us
 ‘his benediction. How he composed himself after he was taken from
 ‘hence, you yourself can give a more exact account than I, &c.’ So
 far father Corker, to whom the holy prelate applied himself for the
 affairs of his conscience whilst he was preparing for his exit, and who
 was consequently the best acquainted with his interior.

Archbishop Plunket was arraigned at the King’s Bench-bar, May
 the 3d 1681, but not brought to his trial till the 8th of June. He had
 been then a year and a half in prison: he was found guilty by the
 jury, upon the testimony of those perjured wretches that appeared
 against him; when he heard the verdict, he cried out *Deo Gratias*,
 God be thanked. The lord chief justice before he pronounced sen-
 tence, wished him to renounce his false religion, as he called it,
 against which he most bitterly inveighed, as ten times worse than
 paganism: but the prisoner knew better what his religion was than
 the judge; and gave his lordship to understand that he was not dispo-
 sed to alter it upon any considerations. He added, ‘If I were a man

‘ that had no care of my conscience, I might have saved my life ; for
 ‘ I was offered it by divers people here, if I would but confess my
 ‘ own guilt and accuse others : but, my lord, I had rather die ten
 ‘ thousand deaths than wrongfully accuse any body. And the time
 ‘ will come when your lordship will see what these witnesses are, that
 ‘ have come in against me. I do assure your lordship, if I were a
 ‘ man that had not good principles, I might easily have saved my own
 ‘ life ; but I had rather die ten thousand deaths, than wrongfully to
 ‘ take away one farthing of any man’s goods, one day of his liberty,
 ‘ or one minute of his life.’ After he had said this, sentence was pro-
 nounced against him in the usual form, on the 15th of June.—After
 condemnation he writ the following letter to father Corker.

Dear Sir,

‘ I am obliged to you for the favour and charity of the 20th, and
 ‘ for all your former benevolences : and whereas I cannot in this coun-
 ‘ try remunerate you, with God’s grace I hope to be grateful in that
 ‘ kingdom, which is properly our country. And truly God gave me
 ‘ (though unworthy of it) that grace to have *fortem animum mortis ter-*
 ‘ *rere carentem* “ a courage fearless of death.” I have many sins to
 ‘ answer for before the supreme judge of the high bench, where no
 ‘ false witnesses can have audience. But as for the bench yesterday,
 ‘ I am not guilty of any crime there objected to me : I would I could
 ‘ be so clear at the bench of the All-powerful. *Ut ut sit*, there is one
 ‘ comfort, that he cannot be deceived, because he is omniscious, and
 ‘ knows all secrets, even of hearts ; and cannot deceive, because all
 ‘ goodness ; so that I may be sure of a fair trial, and will get time suf-
 ‘ ficient to call witnesses ; nay, the judge will bring them in a mo-
 ‘ ment, if there will be need of any. You and your comrade’s pray-
 ‘ ers will be powerful advocates at that bench.’ Here none are ad-
 mitted for

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER PLUNKET.

On the first day of July, 1681, he was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn : on which occasion the serenity of his countenance, the courage, chearfulness, and piety with which he went to meet death, gave great edification to the spectators. At the place of execution he spoke as follows :

I have some few days past abided my trial at the King’s Bench, and now very soon I must hold up my hand at the King of King’s Bench, and appear before a Judge, who cannot be deceived by false witnesses, nor corrupted allegations, for he knoweth the secrets of hearts : Neither can he deceive any, or give an unjust sentence, or be misled by respects of persons. He being all goodness and a most just Judge, will infallibly decree an eternal reward for all good works, and condign punishment for the smallest transgressions against his commandments : which being a most certain and undoubted truth, it would be a wicked act, & contrary to my perpetual welfare, that I should now by declaring any thing contrary to truth, commit a detestable sin, for which within a very short time I must receive sentence of everlasting damnation ; after which, there is no reprieve or hope of pardon. I will therefore confess the truth, without any equivocation, and

make use of the words according to their accustomed signification; assuring you moreover, that I am of that certain persuasion, that no power, not only upon earth, but also in heaven, can dispense with me, or give me leave to make a false protestation: and I protest upon the word of a dying man, and as I hope for salvation at the hands of the supreme judge, that I will declare the naked truth with all candour and sincerity: and that my affairs may be better known to all the world.

'Tis to be observed, that I have been accused in Ireland of treason and præmunire: and that there I was arraigned and brought to my trial; but the prosecutors (men of flagitious and infamous lives) perceiving that I had records and witnesses, who would evidently convince them, and clearly shew my innocence and their wickedness, they voluntarily absented themselves, and came to this city to procure that I should be brought hither to my trial, (where the crimes objected were not committed) where the jury did not know me, or the qualities of my accusers, and were not informed of several other circumstances conducing to a fair trial. Here after six months' close imprisonment, or thereabouts, I was brought to the bar the 3d of May, and arraigned for a crime, for which I was before arraigned in Ireland: a strange resolution, a rare fact, of which you will hardly find a precedent these five hundred years past: but whereas my witnesses and records were in Ireland, the lord chief justice gave me five weeks time to get them brought hither: but by reason of the uncertainty of the seas, of wind and weather, and of the difficulty of getting copies of records, and bringing many witnesses from several counties in Ireland, and for many other impediments (of which affidavit was made) I could not at the end of five weeks get the records and witnesses brought hither; I therefore begged for twelve days more, that I might be in a readiness for my trial, which the lord chief justice denied; and so I was brought to my trial, and exposed, as it were with my hands tied, to these merciless perjurers, &c.

Then having numbered up the heads of the accusation against him, and refuted them by the most solemn protestations of his innocence, and by shewing not only the improbability, but even the impossibility of his being guilty of what was laid to his charge, he goes on.

You see therefore what condition I am in, and you have heard what protestations I have made of innocence, and I hope you will believe the words of a dying man. And that you may be the more induced to give me credit, I assure you that a great peer sent me notice, *That he would save my life, if I would accuse others; but I answered, that I never knew of any conspirators in Ireland, but such as were publicly known out-laws, and that to save my life, I would not falsely accuse any, nor prejudice my own soul. Quid prodest homini, &c.* To take away any man's life or goods wrongfully, ill-becometh any christian, especially a man of my calling, being a clergyman of the catholic church, and also an unworthy prelate, which I do openly confess; neither will I deny to have exercised in Ireland the functions of a catholic prelate, as long as there was any connivance or toleration; and by preaching, and teaching, and statutes, to have endeavoured to bring the clergy (of which I had a care) to a due com-

portment according to their calling; and though thereby I did but my duty, yet some, who would not amend, had a prejudice for me, and especially my accusers, to whom I did endeavour to do good; I mean the clergymen, (as for the four laymen, who appeared against me—I was never acquainted with them.) But you see how I am rewarded, and how by false oaths they have brought me to this untimely death; which wicked act being a defect of persons, ought not to reflect upon the order of St. Francis, or upon the Roman catholic clergy, it being well known that there was a Judas amongst the twelve apostles, and a wicked man called Nicholas amongst the seven deacons: and even as one of the said deacons, viz. holy Stephen, did pray for those who stoned him to death; so do I for those who with perjuries spill my innocent blood, saying as St. Stephen did, *O Lord, lay not this sin to them.* I do heartily forgive them, and also the judges, who (by denying me sufficient time to bring my records and witnesses from Ireland) did expose my life to evident danger. I do also forgive all those who had a hand in bringing me from Ireland to be tried here, where it was morally impossible for me to have a fair trial. I do finally forgive all who did concur directly or indirectly to take away my life; and I ask forgiveness of all those whom I ever offended by thought, word or deed.—I beseech the all-powerful, that his divine majesty grant our king, queen, the duke of York, and all the royal family, health, long life, and all prosperity in this world, and in the next everlasting felicity.

Now that I have shewed sufficiently (as I think) how innocent I am of any plot or conspiracy; I would I were able, with the like truth to clear myself of high crimes committed against the divine Majesty's commandments, (often transgressed by me) for which I am sorry with all my heart, and if I should or could live a thousand years, I have a firm resolution and a strong purpose, by your grace, O my God, never to offend you; and I beseech your divine Majesty, by the merits of Christ, and by the intercession of his blessed mother, and all the holy angels and saints, to forgive me my sins, and to grant my soul eternal rest.

After he had ended his speech, he recited the psalm *miserere mei Deus*, and other devout aspirations: and his cap being drawn over his eyes, he continued recommending his happy soul into the hands of his Saviour, till the cart was drawn away. He was suffered to hang till he expired, and then was cut down, and bowelled: his heart and bowels were thrown into the fire: his body was begged of the king, and was interred (all but the head and arms to the elbows, which were disposed of elsewhere) in the church-yard of St. Giles in the Fields; with a copper-plate on his breast with the following inscription.

In this tomb resteth the body of the right reverend Oliver Plunket, archbishop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who in hatred of religion was accused of high treason by false witnesses, and for the same condemned and executed at Tyburn, his heart and bowels being taken out, and cast into the fire. He suffered martyrdom with constancy, the first of July, 1681, in the reign of king Charles the second.

Four years after his body was taken up and found entire. It was

sent abroad to Lambspring; where Abbot Corker, 1693, erected over it a handsome monument, with this Latin inscription.

Reliquiæ sanctæ memoriæ Oliveri Plunket, archiepiscopi Armachani, Hiberniæ primatis, qui in odium catholicæ fidei laqueo suspensus, extractis visceribus & in ignem projectis, celebris martyr occubuit Londini, primo die Julij (stylo veteri) anno salutis 1681.



I find no more catholic blood spilt in England for religion, during the three remaining years of king Charles's reign. For now the pretended popish plot was clearly discovered to be a mere sham, and to have been imposed upon the nation, in order to usher in a real conspiracy of some that called themselves true protestants; concerning which, the reader may consult the history of the Rye-House Plot, written by a protestant prelate, Dr. Sprat, bishop of Rochester. However, the prisons still were crowded with catholics, as well priests as laity, till the latter end of this reign; even the lords that were kept prisoners in the tower, could not obtain to be bailed out till 1683: in the mean time, the lord Petre died prisoner in the tower, protesting to the last his innocence of all that had been laid to his charge.

As to the rest, we have not been able to give an account in these memoirs, of all the sufferings of catholics, either in this or the former persecutions; nor so much as to set down the names either of the priests, or laymen or women, that have endured imprisonment, banishment, loss of goods, and innumerable other vexations for their conscience; the number of such sufferers has been so great, that it would be an impossible task to record so much as their names: it may suffice to say, that few of that profession escaped feeling (more or less) the rage of the persecutors; and that their constancy and patience in their sufferings, was little inferior to that of the most heroic sufferers of the primitive ages.

Since the foregoing sheets were printed, we have been informed of one priest more, sentenced to death for his character, in this latter part of king Charles the second's reign: and this was the reverend father Atwood, of the holy order of St. Dominick. He was reprieved, and as some say, taken off the hurdle, to his great grief. He died in peace in 1704.

Since the accession of king James II. to the throne, though from time to time the catholics have been exposed to some passing storms, yet by God's mercy the persecution has never raged so far as to come to blood. The most remarkable sufferer, on account of his priestly character, was the reverend father Paul, of St. Francis, alias Matthew Atkinson, O. S. F. He was a native of Yorkshire, and entered into the order of St. Francis in the English convent at Douay, the 27th of December, 1673, being then seventeen years of age: he was sent upon the English mission in 1687, where he was noted for his zeal of souls, and diligence in his pastoral functions, and brought many strayed sheep back to the fold of Christ, till being accused by a false convert, of being a priest, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and sent to Hurst castle, where he remained a constant and pious confessor of Christ for thirty years, till his dying day, which was the

15th of October, 1729. He departed this life aged 74, in the 56th year of his religious profession; and lies interred at St. James's near Winchester.

APPENDIX.

Of two priests S. J. who suffered anno 1606, wrongfully accused of the gunpowder treason.

* *Henry Garnet, Priest, S. J.*

HENRY Garnet was born in the year 1554, as some say, in Derbyshire, or as others will have it, at Nottingham, where his father Mr. Brian Garnet was a schoolmaster. He had his first education in the college of William of Wickham, in Winchester, where he was looked upon as the most hopeful youth in the house; and was to have been sent from thence to New College, Oxon; but disliking the protestant religion, he chose rather to be reconciled to the catholic church, and travelled abroad first into Spain, and from thence to Rome, he there entered into the society of Jesus, anno 1571. After he had finished his noviceship, he applied himself close to his studies, and having the advantage of the best masters, both in divine and human sciences, such as Bellarmine, Suarez, Pererius, Clavius, &c. he became a great proficient in all kind of learning, yet so as not to neglect the better part, by a serious attention to the science of the saints, the study of christian and religious perfection. He was for some time professor of the Hebrew language, in the Roman college of the society, and then publicly taught metaphysics; he also supplied for a while the place of the celebrated Clavius in the school of mathematics; till the year 1586, having long aspired after the English mission, he was sent with father Robert Southwel to labour in this vineyard.

Two years after his arrival in England, father William Weston, the superior of the English jesuits, falling into the hands of the persecutors, and being committed to prison, father Garnet was pitched upon as the most proper to succeed in that superiority. And from that time till the breaking out of the gunpowder plot, so behaved himself in that post, as to be very much esteemed and loved by all those whom he had to deal with.

In the year 1603, queen Elizabeth being called out of this world, king James the first succeeded in the kingdom. This prince had given great hopes, and even promises to the catholics before his coming to the crown, that he would put a stop to their sufferings, and grant them some toleration at least of their religion: but they quickly found

* From father More's history of the English province, l. iv. n. 15. and l. vii. n. 20, &c. Father Bartoli's Inghilterra, l. iv. c. 12. l. vi. c. 5, &c. Father Joseph Jouvancy historia societatis, part V. l. xiii. and a manuscript relation of his death by an eye-witness.

he was not disposed to make good these promises ; and that instead of repealing or qualifying any of the penal statutes of queen Elizabeth, he gave way to new laws and additional severities, enacted against all professors of the ancient religion. The generality of the catholics of the nation, though much disappointed in their hopes, submitted their shoulders to this new cross after so many others they had endured, and disposed themselves to bear it with christian patience. But some few there were, (and indeed very few, for I can find but thirteen or fourteen in all, including such as were any ways conscious) men unworthy of the name of catholics, who being exasperated by their disappointment, were by degrees entangled by the artifices of satan, and a Machiavellian politician, his instrument, (designing thereby the ruin of the catholic religion in England) in a most detestable conspiracy to blow up the parliament house ; which design was to have been executed at the first meeting of the parliament, on the 5th of Nov. 1605 ; but was discovered by a letter sent ten days before to lord Mounteagle, a catholic peer, and by him communicated to the king and council.

As to the religion of the conspirators, if they had any, they are generally supposed to have been catholics : though the author of the Protestants Plea, published in 1621, p. 56, says ‘ they were a few
 ‘ wicked and desperately minded men, whom many protestants termed
 ‘ papists ; although the true priests and catholics of England knew
 ‘ them not to be such ; nor can any protestant, says he, truly say that
 ‘ any one of them was such a one, as their laws and proceedings against
 ‘ us name papists, popish recusants, or the like :’ and p. 58, he adds,
 ‘ all these were young, except Piercy, — and if any of them were
 ‘ catholics, or so died, they were known protestants not long before,
 ‘ and never frequenters of catholic sacraments with any priest, as I
 ‘ could learn.’ So far this author.

Catesby, the chief of the conspirators, whether of his own accord or at the instigation of a certain minister of state (supposed to have had a great hand in the whole contrivance of this plot, and to have been particularly solicitous to draw the jesuits into some share in the odium of it) laid open the design in confession to father Greenway, or Greenwell, alias Tesmond a jesuit. The confessor represented to him the wickedness of the project, but could not prevail upon him to desist : however, Catesby consented that father Greenway should communicate the case under the seal of confession to father Garnet ; and if the matter should otherwise come to light, he gave leave that both the one and the other might then make use of the knowledge, which he thus imparted to them, and not else. Father Garnet was struck with horror at the proposal, and as he could not discover it, laboured at least to divert the design ; and he so far prevailed, that Catesby promised he would attempt nothing without the knowledge and consent of the holy see, which father Garnet knew he would never obtain : but the wretch still went on in his design, till the plot was discovered ; and then taking arms with Piercy and the two Wrights, attended with some servants and a few others, being pursued by the high sheriff of Warwickshire, he took shelter in the house of Mr. Humphrey Littleton near Stourbridge, and being there attacked by

the sheriff of Worcestershire, he was there slain with the other three in the conflict; the rest of the conspirators were taken, and were all executed, excepting Mr. Tresham, who died in the tower.

Amongst those who were engaged in this plot was one Bates a servant of Catesby: this man in hopes of saving his own life, insinuated (probably at the instigation of a certain great man) that the jesuits, and in particular father Greenway and father Garnet, had some knowledge of the conspiracy; of which unjust insinuation he afterwards repented himself. Upon this a proclamation was issued out, (two months after the discovery of the plot) for the apprehending of those two fathers, together with father Gerard, of whom also they had conceived some suspicion. Greenway and Gerard fled beyond the seas: father Garnet, who was then with father Oldcorne at Henlip, the seat of Mr. Abington in Worcestershire, was soon after betrayed by Mr. Littleton, who being then a prisoner for having harboured some of the conspirators, in hopes of saving his own life, discovered where the father was hid. Upon which, after many days search, both father Garnet and father Oldcorne were apprehended, with their servants, John Owen and Ralph Ashley, and were carried to Worcester, and from thence by an order of the council sent for up to London, and there committed first to the Gatehouse and then to the tower.

Father Garnet was examined no less than twenty-three different times, so intent some people were to bring him in, if possible, guilty of some share in the plot: yet with all these examinations no sufficient matter could be discovered to condemn him, nor any witnesses could be found to appear against him. At length Cecil earl of Salisbury, who knew more of the whole affair perhaps than any man living, contrived to lodge father Oldcorne in a chamber adjoining to father Garnet, where they might through a chink converse together, and be over-heard by two men, whom he had placed in ambuscade for that purpose. This stratagem succeeded according to his wish. Father Garnet was privately informed by his keeper (under pretence of kindness) that father Oldcorne might be spoke with, through that chink; and he gladly embraced that opportunity of making his confession, and conversing with his friend, little suspecting the snare that was laid for him: upon this occasion, being asked by father Oldcorne whether he was still examined about the plot? He answered, they have no proof that I ever had any knowledge at all of the matter; and there is but one man upon earth (meaning father Greenway) who can prove that I had. These words were heard by the two spies, and were immediately carried to the council. Upon this father Garnet was again examined and put upon the rack; where when the whole story was related to him, and what he had been heard to say, he acknowledged he had been told of the plot by F. Greenway, but it was under the inviolable seal of confession; and that he had both recommended to father Greenway, and had used himself his best endeavours to divert the design. Upon this his confession, as they called it, Sir Edward Coke the attorney-general, was ordered to draw up an indictment of high treason against him; and he was brought to his trial at Guildhall, March the 28th. before the king's delegates; his majesty

himself and many of the nobility being present. His enemies, to disgrace him, had published many falsehoods of him; and amongst the rest, that having been kept watching for six whole days and nights (a new kind of torment!) he had lost his senses: but this and other calumnies were dissipated by his public appearance and comportment at his trial. The attorney-general held forth for several hours in his accusation, bringing in all the odious topics he could against the jesuits in general, to prejudice the jury against the prisoner, and laying to their charge all the plots and conspiracies of queen Elizabeth's reign, but in particular charging home upon father Garnet the guilt of the late conspiracy. The father made a regular and excellent defence, both of his own innocence and of his society, with that presence of mind, and that graceful modesty, that many of the auditors who came thither violently prepossessed against him, were now convinced of his innocence, his very countenance, which was particularly venerable, pleading strongly in his behalf: however, the protestant jury, either not believing his plea that he had no knowledge of the plot but by confession, or rather not regarding that inviolable secrecy which the catholic church enjoins to confessors, brought in their verdict guilty; and he received sentence of death in the usual form as in cases of high-treason.

He remained prisoner in the Tower after sentence for about five weeks, and then was ordered for execution on the 3d of May, 1606. He was drawn on a sledge from the Tower to St. Paul's church-yard, where a scaffold and gibbet were erected for the purpose, and an innumerable multitude of people was assembled. As he was drawn through the streets, his hands and eyes were lifted up towards heaven, where his heart was fixed. After he was taken off the sledge, and had recovered himself of the dizziness caused by the jogging of that incommodious vehicle, he ascended the scaffold, and saluted the crowd with a smiling countenance. It was observed that the mob, which had uttered many reviling speeches against him, calling him by a thousand opprobrious names before he came to the place, was now struck dumb at his venerable aspect, which both spoke his innocence and commanded reverence. Some of the ministers that were there, offered to persuade him to conform in matters of religion, (as, amongst other calumnies, it had been given out that he would) but he declared he would die in the catholic faith, out of which there was no salvation.

It being the day of the *invention*, or *finding of the cross*, father Garnet took occasion from thence to speak to the people concerning this cross which he was to take up that day; declaring withal his innocence as to the conspiracy, and his having no knowledge of it but by confession; that as to his part he had always detested such treasonable practices, and that he knew them to be contrary to the sentiments of the bishop of Rome; and he begged of all catholics never to think of any such attempts, which were entirely inconsistent with their religion, to fly the conversation of uneasy and turbulent spirits, and to possess their souls in patience. Here sir Henry Montague the recorder of London told him he was certainly privy to the design, out of confession. 'Mr. Catesby,' said he, 'told you of it in private, we have it under your hand.' 'Whatever is under my hand, said father Garnet, I will not

‘ deny ; but indeed you have not this under my hand. Mr. Catesby only
 ‘ acquainted me in general terms that something might be done, or was
 ‘ adoining for the benefit of the catholic cause, without specifying what it
 ‘ was ; and this is all I had from him as I hope for salvation. Then, said
 ‘ the recorder, do you ask the king’s pardon for concealing the treason ? I
 ‘ do, said father Garnet, thus far, and no more, in that I did not reveal
 ‘ the suspicions I had of Mr. Catesby’s behaviour ; though at the same
 ‘ time I dissuaded him from all treasonable attempts. And I do solemnly
 ‘ assure you had that wicked stratagem succeeded, I should always have
 ‘ detested both the fact, and the persons engaged in it.’

After this he was brought to the foot of the ladder, where the recorder attacked him again upon the score of Mr. Catesby, pretending that they had it under his hand, that he had discoursed with him in particular concerning the gunpowder design ; which father Garnet denying, a gentleman there pretended to call for the paper, but it could not be found ; at which the father smiling said, *I believe it never will be found.* Then being stripped to his shirt, he kneeled down and prayed a while in silence at the foot of the ladder ; then going up some steps he prayed aloud for the king, the queen, the prince, and all the council, and begged the blessing of God for all the spectators, that God might make them all Roman catholics, as the only way to secure their eternal welfare ; declaring that for his own part he died a catholic, and desired all such to pray for him, and with him. Then making the sign of the cross, he said, *Adoramus te Christe, &c. We adore thee O Christ, and we bless thee ; because by thy cross thou hast redeemed the world. This sign of the cross shall be seen in heaven, when the Lord shall come to judgment. Allelujah.* Then saluting the blessed virgin with a short hymn, crossing his hands before his breast and recommending his departing soul into the hands of his Creator, he was flung off the ladder. The executioner three several times attempted to cut the rope before he was dead, that he might be butchered alive according to sentence. But the people as often cried out, *hold, hold, hold* : so much were they moved by his behaviour, to judge more favourably of him than they had done, and to compassionate his case. And when his head was shewn by the executioner, instead of *huzzas*, usual on the like occasions, the people went off in silence.

Father Garnet suffered in the 51st year of his age, and the 30th after his entering into the society. His head was fixed on London bridge, and it was much remarked that his countenance, which was always venerable, retained for above twenty days the same lively colour which it had during life, which drew all London to the spectacle, and was interpreted as a testimony of his innocence ; as was also an image of him wonderfully formed on the ear of a straw, on which a drop of his blood had fallen. His servant Owen, a lay-brother of the society (commonly called Little John) was so cruelly racked in prison, that he died soon after he was taken off the torture.

* *Edward Oldcorne, Priest, S. J.*

EDWARD Oldcorne, known upon the mission by the name of Hall,

* From father More’s history, l. vii. num. 36, &c. father Bartoli, l. vi. c. 8, &c.

was born in Yorkshire; he performed his studies abroad, partly in the college then residing at Rhemes, and partly in that of Rome, where he remained above six years, and then was made priest, and sent upon the mission. Before he left Rome he obtained of father Claudius Aquaviva, general of the jesuits, to be admitted into their society; who being fully satisfied with the testimonials of his virtuous life and conversation in the college, was willing to dispense with the usual probation, and instead of a regular noviceship to appoint him this laborious and dangerous mission. He came over into England in the company of father John Gerard, lately admitted in like manner into the society, in the year 1588, and was sent by father Garnet his superior, into Worcestershire, where he laboured for about seventeen years with admirable zeal and success in the conversion of souls. The place of his residence was Henlip, the seat of Mr. Abington. This gentleman's sister, Mrs. Dorothy Abington, having been brought up in queen Elizabeth's court, was an earnest protestant, and violently prejudiced against catholics, and especially against priests. Father Oldcorne endeavoured to reclaim her from her errors, and reconcile her to the catholic religion, but in vain, his arguments from scripture and tradition, however strong in themselves, did not remove her prejudices, and she seemed obstinately resolved not to give ear to his remonstrances. He was determined therefore to try another expedient to cast out this *deaf and dumb devil*, which was fasting and prayer, and this quickly succeeded; the protestant lady flung herself at his feet, bathed in her tears, and desired to be received into the catholic church, which was done accordingly, to her great satisfaction.

Great were the labours of this zealous missionary in Worcestershire, and the neighbouring counties, and many the dangers he was exposed to, from which sometimes he was delivered by a very extraordinary, not to say miraculous providence. His labours, added to his other mortifications and austerities, impaired his health so far, that a vein breaking in his breast, he had like to have died through loss of blood; and though he escaped death, such a weakness was left with him, especially at the return of the season of the year, that he was scarce able to stand; he was also afflicted with a cancerous ulcer in his mouth, for which he could find no cure. Upon this he resolved on a pilgrimage to St. Winefride's well, to obtain of God the recovery of his health and strength, by the intercession of that holy virgin and martyr: when behold, in his way thither, lodging at a catholic house, he was told by the priest of the family of a stone which had been taken out of the aforesaid well, and kept in that house. Father Oldcorne, after mass, applied this stone to his mouth, devoutly recommending himself to the prayers of St. Winefride, and in half an hour was perfectly cured of his canker, and proceeding on his journey, and bathing himself in the well, recovered also his health and strength. These particulars father John Gerard declared he had both from father Oldcorne himself, and from the priest of the family where he was cured of the canker.

After the discovery of the powder-plot, father Garnet, as we have seen already, being sought after, and found at Henlip, in the same hole with father Oldcorne, the latter was also apprehended and carried first to Worcester, and then to London, where he was five several times

racked in the Tower, and once with the utmost severity for five or six hours together; and yet neither by his own confession, nor by any other sufficient testimony, could it appear, that he had any manner of knowledge of the conspiracy. He was sent down again to Worcester, to be there tried in the Lenten assizes. The things alledged against him, besides his being a priest and a jesuit, were, first, that he had invited to Henlip, and there harboured and concealed his superior father Garnet, who had been proclaimed a traitor. Secondly, that he had approved of the gunpowder-treason, at least after its discovery, and had defended the contrivers of that villainy. To the first he answered, that he had indeed invited father Garnet to Henlip, but it was a month or six weeks before the proclamation was issued out against him, and if he did not afterwards discover and betray him, he did not conceive any crime in that. To the second he replied, that he had no manner of knowledge of the plot, till it was made public to all the world, and that he had neither approved nor defended it. However, he was brought in *guilty* by the jury, and received sentence of death as in cases of high treason, and was accordingly executed at Worcester, April 7, 1606, being Monday in Passion-week. He had the comfort of reconciling to God and his church one of the felons that were executed with him, who died with great marks of faith and repentance. Littleton also was executed at the same time, and in the hearing of thousands of people, publicly asked pardon of God, and father Oldcorne, for having wrongfully accused him of the conspiracy.

Father Oldcorne at his death recommended himself in his private devotions to Almighty God, begging the intercession of the blessed virgin, and the saints his patrons; prayed aloud for the king and all the royal family, for his accuser, (whom he said he heartily pardoned) for the judge, jury, and all any way concerned in his death; protesting to the last his innocence as to the plot, and so was turned off the ladder, but quickly cut down and butchered alive, *anno ætatis 45, societatis 18*.—His head and quarters were set up on poles in different parts of that city; his heart and bowels were cast into the fire, which continued sending forth a lively flame for 16 days, notwithstanding the rains that fell during that time, which was looked upon as a prodigy, and a testimony of his innocence.

Ralph Ashley was executed at the same time for no other crime but being servant to father Oldcorne, and therefore, as it was supposed, an abettor of his pretended treasons.

SUPPLEMENT.

An Extract of the Reverend Mr. Christopher Robinson's Relation of the Trial and Death of Mr. John Boast or Bost, M. A. who suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594, Mr. Robinson being an eye-witness.

‘ **W**HEN I came to the bar, the jury was giving in their verdict; four
 ‘ were found guilty for felony, and three for treason (as they spoke) but
 ‘ indeed for religion.—Judge Beaumont stood up and made a speech, &c.
 ‘ The cruel judgment was no sooner pronounced, than Mr. Boast sung

‘ with a joyful heart and chearful countenance *te Deum laudamus, &c.*
 ‘ and Mr. Ingram answered, *te æternum Patrem, &c.* Then Mr.
 ‘ Boast said, *qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam æternam*
 ‘ *custodit eam, &c.*

‘ Besides these two, there was a layman condemned who had some
 ‘ time been a minister. This man laying aside his ministry became a
 ‘ catholic, and persuaded divers, as it is reported, to become catholics,
 ‘ whereof one caused him to be apprehended, &c. Mr. Boast and Mr.
 ‘ Ingram seeing him to fail, spoke unto him; their words did so work in
 ‘ the good man’s heart, that not long after, in the presence of the pre-
 ‘ sident, of the judges, and of the whole consistory, he cried out, *I am*
 ‘ *resolved, I am resolved.* The judge said, *wherein art thou resolved?*
 ‘ In matters of faith, said he. And *by whom?* said the judge. Even
 ‘ by these two, said he (pointing to Mr. Boast and Mr. Ingram) martyrs
 ‘ before God; martyrs. I say, before God; for though you make as if
 ‘ they died for treason, yet in very truth they die for religion: and if
 ‘ it were a thousand deaths, I am very well content with them to suffer.
 ‘ You would have laughed (continues my author) to hear the mutterings
 ‘ of our enemies at the poor condemned prisoners. Mr. Boast, Mr.
 ‘ Ingram, and Swallowel were commanded presently to be carried
 ‘ away, and truly they went away rejoicing that they were to receive
 ‘ such a severe judgment for God’s cause, as might very well be gather-
 ‘ ed by their chearful countenances, which did joy my heart not a little,
 ‘ in seeing them take such joy in bearing up their irons.

‘ At four of the clock (Wednesday the 24th of July) the under-
 ‘ sheriff fetched the prisoners forth, and laid Mr. Boast in a cart, and
 ‘ a little new-pulled line being laid under him, he laid along upon his
 ‘ back, holding his hands up towards the heavens, and so he was car-
 ‘ ried toward the tree, speaking nothing, but having his mind occupied
 ‘ in meditation; except only that he gave his blessing to two or three
 ‘ women, which fell down upon their knees in the street, as I heard,
 ‘ whom the sheriff commanded to be apprehended. I heard this, I say,
 ‘ for I left my guide to mark the things that happened in the way, be-
 ‘ tween the prison and the trees, and I went myself to provide a place at
 ‘ the trees, before the sheriff came, where I might both hear and see
 ‘ whatever did happen. Now when the martyr was brought unto the
 ‘ trees, he raised up his body, for he had all this time laid upon his
 ‘ back, took off his night-cap, and gave them thanks for the pains they
 ‘ had taken in bringing him to that place. A minister standing by, and
 ‘ seeing him to take all things in good part, and to behave himself so
 ‘ patiently, accused him (as if he had been guilty) of ill-behaviour. A
 ‘ gentleman (whom I take to be Edward Musgrave, of Allston-moor,)
 ‘ hearing, said to the minister, my friend, say not so, for Mr. Boast
 ‘ has behaved himself very well; he has behaved himself marvelously
 ‘ well. Then they bid him come forth of the cart, which he did, and
 ‘ having stood a little while on his feet, they bid him step up the ladder:
 ‘ he paused a little (at the first step) and made the sign of the cross,
 ‘ and said, *Angelus Domini, &c.* with an *Ave Maria.* At the next
 ‘ step he paused again, and said, *ecce ancilla Domini, &c.* with ano-
 ‘ ther *Ave*; and at the third step he said, *et verbum caro factum est, &c.*
 ‘ with a third *Ave Maria.* Then being come almost to the top of the

‘ ladder, he turned himself towards the people, made the sign of the
 ‘ cross, and offered to make a speech to the people; but he had no
 ‘ sooner begun to speak, but the sheriff staid him, and commanded the
 ‘ hangman to do his office, and to put the rope about his neck: which
 ‘ being done, the hangman would have immediately turned the ladder,
 ‘ but the sheriff staid him, and told the martyr, that now he should
 ‘ speak: but the martyr offering again to make the speech (which he
 ‘ had designed) because the people did expect somewhat of him, was
 ‘ staid again, and bidden to make him fit for God, and say his prayers.
 ‘ Then the blessed martyr said, I hope in God that if you will not suffer
 ‘ me to speak unto you in this world, this my death will speak in your
 ‘ hearts, that which I would have spoken.’

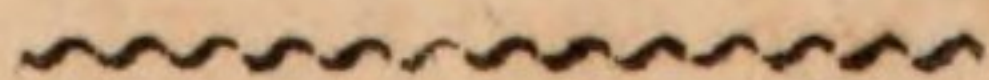
‘ At last said he, seeing you will not suffer me to speak to you, suffer
 ‘ me to speak to my soul in the psalms of the prophet David. You may,
 ‘ said the sheriff. Then said the martyr, holding up his hands towards
 ‘ the heavens, fixing his heart upon God, and lifting up his eyes:—
 ‘ *Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi.*
 ‘ *Return, O my soul, into thy rest, because God hath done well unto*
 ‘ *thee.* And why hath God done well unto thee? It followeth; *quia*
 ‘ *eripuit animam meam a morte, oculos meos a lacrymis, pedes meos a*
 ‘ *lapsu.* Because he hath delivered my soul from death. From death,
 ‘ what is that? From the sting of heresy, wherewith our country, alas!
 ‘ is infected, plagued and pestered. So, said the sheriff, keep your
 ‘ peace, speak no more. Alas! said he, this is but the psalm of the
 ‘ prophet, and therefore cannot be hurtful. Yea, said the sheriff, but
 ‘ you make a commentary upon it; say it in Latin as oft as you will.
 ‘ Then the martyr seeing it was not allowed to speak English, repeated
 ‘ the words of the prophet in Latin, until he came to the end of the
 ‘ psalm. Then said one, let him be sorry for his offences towards his
 ‘ prince: I, said the martyr, I never offended her; and when they
 ‘ urged he had offended her, he said; I take it upon my death, I never
 ‘ went about to hurt her: yea, I wish to God that my blood may be in
 ‘ satisfaction for her sins. Dispatch, dispatch, said the sheriff to the
 ‘ hangman. Then the hangman turned the ladder, and the martyr
 ‘ went down, saying, *in manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.*
 ‘ The hangman having a knife in readiness to cut the rope, offered pre-
 ‘ sently to cut it as soon as the ladder was turned, but the sheriff staid
 ‘ him till he had hung the space of a *Pater Noster*, and then com-
 ‘ manded the rope to be cut. Then one taking him by the feet, two or
 ‘ three keeping his body as it did fall, ran with it till they came at the
 ‘ fire, which was made a good space from the trees. But by the time they
 ‘ had carried him to the fire, he was well near revived, came unto him-
 ‘ self and spoke; and prayed that God would forgive his bloody butcher
 ‘ when he was ripping up his belly.—To be short, (for I see that I blot
 ‘ the paper with tears) they cut off his members, and hurled them into
 ‘ the fire, even in his own sight, as judgment was given; they pulled
 ‘ out his bowels in a most butcherly manner, cut off his head, and
 ‘ mangled his sacred body, in quartering, most pitifully.—This is that
 ‘ cruel tragedy which I both heard and saw.’ So far Mr. Robinson,
 who afterwards glorified God by the like death, for the same cause of
 his religion and priesthood, at Carlisle, Aug. 19, 1596. P. S. Mr.

Ingram suffered at Gateside-head, by Newcastle, and Mr. Swallowel at Darlington.

Mr. Boast was taken at the Water-houses, within three or four miles of Durham, at the house of one Mr. Claxton, whose wife received sentence of death for harbouring him, (her husband being at that time abroad :) however, she was reprieved by the means of friends, and afterwards pardoned.

Mr. John Yaxley, a rev. priest, in a letter dated July 17, 1707, which I have now before me, relates, that when the hangman pulling out Mr. Boast's heart, shewed it to the crowd, with a *behold the heart of a traitor*, a voice was heard to this effect: *no, the heart of a servant of God*; at which Mr. Roger Widdrington, of Carlington, (father to that very virtuous gentleman sir Edward Widdrington) who heard the voice, was so struck, that he was thereupon reconciled to the church. Which account, says he, I received from Widdrington castle, and from a brother in the county of Durham.

He adds, in the same letter, that when Mr. Hill, Mr. Hogge, Mr. Holiday, and Mr. Duke, were put to death at Durham, "1590," "a brook near the common gallows, "other relations call it a well," at the time of their execution ceased to flow, and has remained dry ever since, and is thence called Dryburne to this day. Above 20 years ago, says he, I have been shewn the hole from whence it issued, and the marks of its former channel. This is a constant tradition here. I have also received the following relation of a conversion wrought then. Mr. Robert Maire, of Hardwick, great grandfather to the present Mr. Thomas Maire, of Larkington, married Mrs. Grace Smith, only child to an eminent lawyer of that name, at Durham. Both husband and wife, who were then protestants, were present at the execution of the priests above-named, and being much moved at their courage and constancy, were thereupon converted. The gentlewoman's father, who was very rich, and a puritan, was so exasperated at this, that he made his last testament, (which is yet kept in the archives of Durham) and gave his remaining substance to the public uses and pretended charities of that city, unless his *graceless daughter Grace*, as he calls her in his will, should conform; and if so, for every Sunday she went to church, he ordered 100l. for her, till the whole was paid. The sum which he thus gave away, and which she, rather than perform that condition chose to forego, was about 2500l.' So far Mr. Yaxley, who also adds, that the Trollops, of Thornley, an ancient catholic family now extinct, were, during the persecuting reigns, a great support to priests; and that it is the tradition of that country, that two priests, whose names he could not learn, having made their escape out of Durham gaol, in queen Elizabeth's persecution, and aiming in the night, as it is thought, to get to Thornley, were both of them drowned in attempting to cross a brook that runs betwixt two great hills, the stream of which is sometimes very violent and deep. The place, which is near the common ford, is called Priest's-pool to this day.



Some Additions and Amendments to Mr. Knaresborough's Account of Mr. Edward Reading, alias Bamber, from a Letter of Mr. John Martin, Priest, sent out of Lancashire to the said Mr. Knaresborough, July 1, 1707, quoting for his author the Rev. Mr. Barlow, and the tradition of the country.

HE was an alumnus of the English college of Douay. Upon his landing at Dover, falling upon his knees, he gave God thanks for his passage over the seas, and safe arrival in his native country; which being observed by the governor of Dover castle, he suspected him to be a priest, and caused him to be apprehended. He did not deny his character, but pleaded he had not been upon English land the space of time mentioned in the statute; and upon this plea was put on ship board, and sent into banishment.

Some time after his second return, he was again apprehended in the neighbourhood of Standish, in Lancashire, and was to have been committed prisoner to Lancaster castle; but in his way thither, being lodged at a place beyond Preston, he found means in the dead of the night (his keepers being in drink) to make his escape out of a window in his shirt, which adventure Mr. Knaresborough attributes to Mr. Whitaker. Mr. Martin adds, that upon this occasion he was met by the master of Broughton tower, admonished that night in a dream, that he should find him in such a field. He got up fully possessed with the truth of the vision, and met him in that very field, and conducted him to his house, where he took proper care of him.

However, he fell a third time into the hands of the persecutors, and was committed to the county gaol at Lancaster. It is true, he found an opportunity here also to make his escape, but to little purpose; for having travelled all the night, to his great surprize, he found himself in the morning very near the town; so that he concluded it was the will of God he should suffer there, and so surrendered himself to those that sought after him: for as soon as he was missing, hue and cry was immediately raised, in order to take him. He suffered, as we have seen, with admirable constancy, August 6, 1646.



Challoner, Richard

Memoirs of missionary priests and other catholics of both sexes, that have suffered death in England on religious accounts from the year 1577 to 1684

Bd.: 2

Manchester (1803)

V.ss.c. 49 m-1/2

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